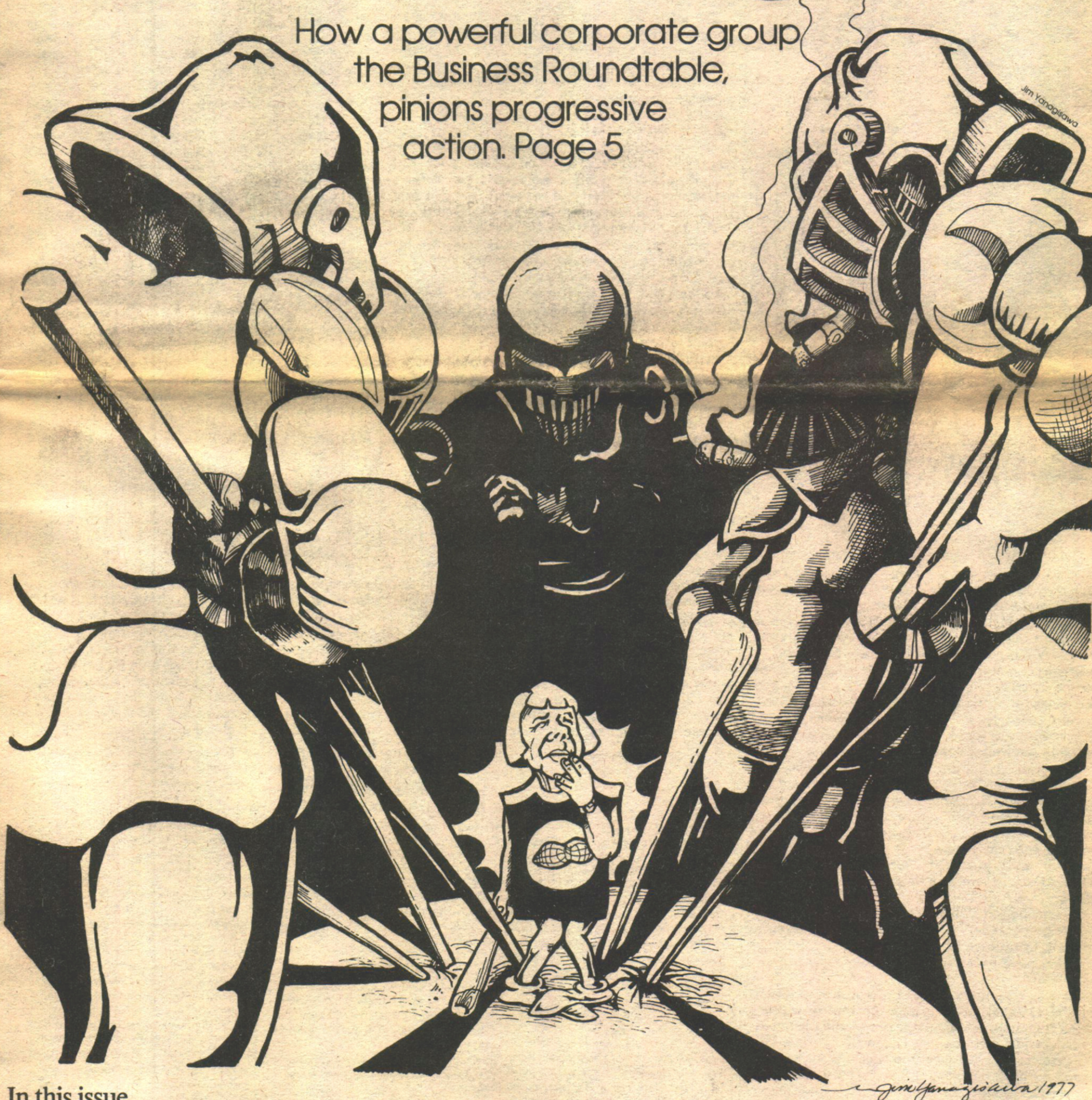




Quiet Knights

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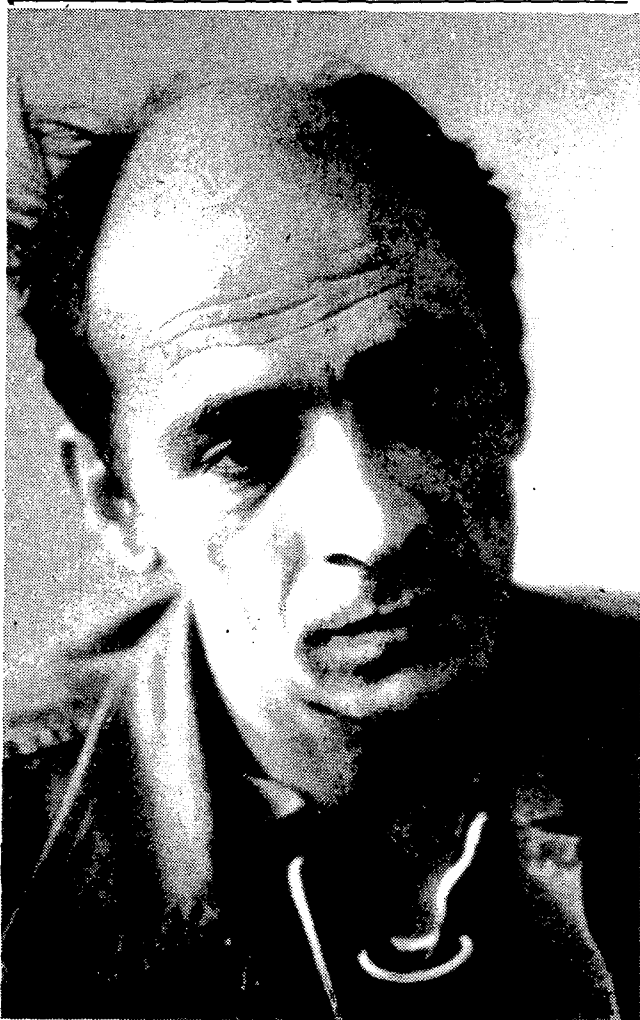
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THE INSIDE STORY

JOHN JUDIS



Jane Melnick

Leonid Plyushch sees new wave of terror

Leonid Plyushch is a 38 year old Ukrainian who was expelled from the Soviet Union last year, after being imprisoned three years in a mental hospital. He was and remains a Marxist and a socialist.

Deeply moved by Nikita Krushchev's revelations at the 20th Congress of the Communist party in 1956, Plyushch joined the Komsomol (Young Communists). When in the early '60s he saw people being persecuted for ideas that differed from the party's, he wrote protest letters to the party's Central Committee. In 1964, he was called before the KGB, the Soviet security police, where he agreed to suspend his letter writing for two years while reconsidering his positions.

Two years of studying Marx and Lenin convinced Plyushch that his letter writing had been wasted but not misguided. He resumed writing, only this time, through *Samizdat*, uncensored typewritten manuscripts circulated by dissidents. In 1968, when he wrote a letter to a newspaper protesting a political trial, he was fired from his job as a mathematician. The next year he joined an Initiative Group for human rights.

In January 1972, Plyushch was arrested for "anti-Soviet propaganda." The next May he was taken to the Serbsky Institute for Forensic Psychiatry, where he was diagnosed as a "sluggish schizophrenic from an early age."

He was committed to the Dnipropetrovsk Special Mental Hospital, given insulin therapy (in which a coma is induced through large doses) and such drugs as haloperidol and triftazin. Haloperidol creates "extra-pyramidal derangement" in which, according to a song sung by Soviet inmates, "you can't sit, you can't lie, you can't walk..."

Through international pressure, Plyushch was finally released in January 1976. He now lives in Paris, where he works with Amnesty International and the International Committee against Repression. He is presently travelling in the U.S. organizing support for a strong stand on human rights at the upcoming East-West meeting in Belgrade, Yugoslavia. Last week he was in Chicago and visited *In These Times*.

This edition published Sept. 14, 1977 for newsstand sales Sept. 14-20.

Memories of Munich.

While Plyushch still considers himself a Marxist, he does not see "the most urgent question" in either the world or the USSR as capitalism vs. socialism. Instead, it is totalitarianism vs. democracy.

"If on one side were democratic socialism and on the other side capitalism, then it would be socialism vs. capitalism," he said. But Plyushch doesn't see democratic socialism anywhere, only totalitarianism "stemming from both the left and the right." To him, the Soviet Union and Chile are different sides of the same coin.

Plyushch fears that the world is approaching another 1938, when, at the Munich conference, the bourgeois democracies failed to halt the spread of fascism and brought on a second world war. He sees his role in preventing the Belgrade meeting from becoming another Munich by rallying unions and workers parties in Europe and North America against the danger of totalitarianism.

In the Soviet Union, Plyushch sees the quest for political rights rather than for socialism as paramount. He describes the growing unity among Marxists, anti-Marxists, nationalists, religious, cultural and social dissidents as being "on the level of pre-bourgeois revolution." Paradoxically, the dissidents are back where Lenin was before 1917 trying to create a "bourgeois revolution that would grow into a more diversified revolution."

The difference is that they are trying to create a "bourgeois revolution in the technological era" and they are doing so against a government with nuclear power at its disposal. Plyushch believes that it would be "irresponsible and dangerous" in this situation to advocate "armed revolution."

An economic crisis.

Plyushch stakes much on international pressure in forcing the Soviet Union to let up on the dissidents. With the possibility of political isolation from workers' movements in the West and economic isolation from the goods and technology it wants to import, the Soviet Union cannot afford to ring down the Iron Curtain again and is open to pressure. But Plyushch places equal emphasis on what he describes as the political and economic crises with the Soviet Union.

In the USSR (and in Eastern Europe as well) the dissident movement has grown rapidly in the last year, during which the different Soviet movements have also become increasingly united.

Plyushch rejects the view that this dissent is confined simply to the so-called intelligentsia. He maintains that in the Soviet Union the "margin between the intelligentsia as a class and the workers as a class is vanishing." In addition, "more and more workers who were never interested in politics are interested in our movement."

But the key to the spread of the dissident movement throughout the working class is the economic crisis. This crisis, manifested in lagging productivity and growth and the failure of workers' standards of living to rise substantially since the early '60s is what "really frightens Brezhnev."

It is rooted in the Soviet political system. The centralized authority of the bureaucracy tends to hold back new technological possibilities, which require decentralized administration. By preventing worker participation and destroying workers' morale, it keeps down productivity.

Plyushch sees the strategy of the Marxist dissidents as one of "pushing the government slowly and step by step into the direction of the democratization of the economy, and toward political changes in the process." His outlook, in this respect, resembles that

of the Czech Marxists before the Soviet invasion of 1968.

New wave of terror.

Brezhnev's response to the economic and political crises has been to attempt to maintain detente overseas, in the hope of receiving Western economic aid, while introducing a "new wave of terror" at home aimed at silencing dissidents and frightening and dividing the working class. Plyushch thinks that in the long run such a strategy cannot work. In order to use the technology it gets from the West, the Soviet Union would have to "change its economic structure and governing of the economy." But he indicated that in the short run it can wreak havoc on the Soviet citizenry.

The new wave of terror dates from the beginning of this year, according to Plyushch and has little to do with Carter's human rights criticisms. The leaders of human rights groups monitoring the Helsinki accords have been arrested, the most prominent of which is Yuri Orlov. The Jewish dissident Anatoly Shcharansky has been charged with being a CIA agent.

The use of psychiatry in punishing prisoners has become increasingly widespread. Plyushch estimates that as many as 2000 political prisoners are presently housed in 12 special mental hospitals. A recent report on *Punitive Medicine* by Moscow dissident Alexander Podrabinek echoes Plyushch's charges. (Last month, Podrabinek was hauled in for questioning.)

Besides attacking dissidents, the Soviet government, Plyushch says, has encouraged national and religious prejudices that can divide a potential opposition. Tartars are encouraged to hate Ukrainians, Russians to hate non-Russians, and everyone to hate Jews.

Plyushch reports that antisemitism has become particularly virulent. Ironically, it feeds not only on prejudices that date from Czarist Russia but also on anti-Soviet feelings, since it is known that Jews played an important role in the revolution and the Cheka and held high administrative posts in the '20s and '30s.

Plyushch described a recent popular magazine article in which the author claimed that Israel was founded as a pro-Nazi state with active Gestapo cooperation. Eichmann was supposedly sought by the Israelis because they feared he would reveal the secret pact. Such articles, often couched in "pseudo-Communist terminology," are becoming increasingly prevalent in the party press.

Plyushch sees in the reintroduction of national and religious prejudice, along with such other throwbacks as the renewed emphasis on rank and uniform in the armed forces, the ultimate ideological poverty of the government. "It is so unsure of its own ideology that it feels it must go back to Czarist ideology to support its own actions."

Like other dissidents, Plyushch is most convincing when he describes present Soviet reality. Recent reports from the Soviet Union, whether from mystical cold warrior Solzhenitsyn, the Westernizer Sakharov, or the Marxist Medvedev brothers, reinforce a picture of a revolution frozen in its tracks and a government fearful of its own citizenry and looking backward toward Stalin and even the Czars.

But is the Soviet Union, as Plyushch and other dissidents maintain, no better than Chile? And can world conflicts, from those that embroil Western Europe and the United States to those in Africa, be described simply in terms of democracy vs. totalitarianism? Here, it seems Plyushch falls into the trap of projecting the shape of Soviet struggles onto the entire world map. Such projection is a familiar problem for revolutionaries. But in Plyushch's case it should not lead us to ignore the bitter truth about the Soviet Union encapsulated within his global speculations.

IN THESE TIMES

THE INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST NEWSPAPER

Published 50 times a year: weekly except the last week of July and the fourth week of December by New Majority Publishing Co., Inc. 1509 North Milwaukee Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60622, (312) 489-4444, TWX: 910-221-5401, Cable: THESE TIMES, Chicago, Ill

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BUREAUS

NEW YORK: David Mermelstein, 158 W. 81 St., New York, NY 10024, (212) 595-7665. SAN FRANCISCO: Joel Parker, 22 Dearborn St., San Francisco, CA 94110, (415) 621-3424. SOUTHERN: Jon Jacobs, 830 W. Peachtree St., Suite 110, Atlanta, GA 30308, (404) 881-1689.

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Closing the doors on minorities

By Bill Sievert
Pacific News Service

A year ago 17-year-old Andrew Gray, eldest of four children of a black, middle-class family in Richmond, Ca., was certain he'd be enrolling in college this fall. He dutifully had sent off applications to the University of California at Davis and less prestigious Hayward State University ("just in case my grades aren't hot enough for U.C.").

Last spring, Andrew received rejection notices from both campuses, a result of his B-minus grades and an unimpressive score on his college entrance exams.

His confidence shaken, he briefly flirted with a plan to apply to predominantly black Central State College in Ohio. But, he concluded "it would cost too much to live away from home."

A last-ditch plan to attend a local two-year community college caved in by mid-August. "I'm joining the Navy," he announced. "A community college would be like two more years of high school. Besides, I want some dollars in my pocket. The Navy will teach me computer programming or something, and they'll pay me. I can always go to college later."

Maybe. But, like many other black Americans of college age, Andrew Gray won't be heading off to campus this fall. And that has more than a few black educators worried.

After a decade of increased educational opportunities won through the civil rights struggles of the '60s, the doors to higher education for blacks seem to be slamming shut again. The result could be a serious reversal in the drive by racial minorities to achieve their slice of the American pie.

Figures misleading.

The Census Bureau recently reported that, as of last fall, blacks comprised 10.7 percent of all American college students, more than double the 4.6 percent level of 1966.

With blacks representing about 11 percent of the American population, the figures seemed to indicate that black people were finally achieving equality with whites in college opportunities.

But black educators charge that the statistics are misleading. They point to another statistic in the same Census Bureau report: the number of black students showed no increase between the 1975 and 1976 academic years.

In fact, the federal Office for Civil Rights reported last year that the percentage of undergraduate minority students actually dropped in seven states between 1972 and 1974, the last year for which full statistics are available.

Of even greater concern the educators point out that black students are disproportionately represented in two-year community colleges and trade schools, while they remain drastically under-represented in the more selective four-year institutions.

And, as a result of the controversial Bakke decision of the California State Supreme Court (now under appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court) to end the University of California's special admissions program for minorities, the number of blacks applying to the prestigious schools of law and medicine has "declined drastically," according to university officials.

U.C.-Berkeley sociologist Harry Edwards, a black professor who recently won a contentious battle for tenure, notes that educational obstacles for minorities persist even in the highest ranks of academe. His research reveals that the number of blacks on the university faculty is declining generally, and that three-quarters of black faculty members are denied tenure, compared to just 37 percent of whites.



The bitter civil rights struggles of the '60s opened many opportunities for minorities. Here some 300 black students occupied the administration building of Boston University in April 1968 demanding more scholarship money for minorities.

The real issue of access to minorities is not who goes to college, but who goes to college where. Blacks and other minorities are disproportionately represented in two-year and trade schools.

Such statistics led the National Association for Equal Opportunity in Higher Education (NAEOHE), an organization of some 500 black college leaders, to warn that, for a variety of reasons, "our educational process is eroding."

A major reason cited by the group is the mounting political pressure to provide more financial aid to students from middle-class families, while reducing the funds available to lower-income students, many of whom are black.

Black students, the group charges, are systematically being "tracked" into cheap community colleges and trade-oriented schools, while prestigious four-year colleges remain as "elite" institutions for middle and upper-class whites.

Who goes where.

"The real issue of access is not who goes to college, but who goes to college where," says Alexander W. Astin, professor of education and UCLA and

author of *The Myth of Equal Access in Public Higher Education*.

His research shows that up to 45 percent of the blacks who enroll in some kind of post-secondary institution attend either a community college or vocational school, such as barber colleges or computer schools.

A related problem involves the "reverse discrimination" attack on programs designed to make up for past inequities in graduate and professional schools, such as the California court's Bakke ruling.

Special admissions programs today account for an estimated 60 percent of all black students attending medical and law schools. If such programs are ended in other schools as a result of the U.S. Supreme Court upholding the Bakke ruling, educators expect a sharp decline in black enrollment.

Already, says Emma Coleman Jones, a law professor and member of the Law School Admissions Committee at U.C. Davis, "many members of minority groups have become discouraged from applying by the events that have followed the [Bakke] decision."

The number of blacks applying to the Davis law school has fallen by 50 percent, she says, and Davis' medical school and Berkeley's law school report similar drops.

At the Harvard Business School, which disbanded its special committee on black admissions last year, first-year black enrollment declined to just 39 students in 1976, compared to 47 out of a total of 750 students in 1972.

Many obstacles.

Even before the Bakke case, in 1974, only 3.5 percent of all doctorates awarded in the country went to American born blacks; and nearly 60 percent of those were in one field, education. Less than one percent of all the post-graduate degrees awarded went to new black attorneys and physicians.

A recent study by the National Board on Graduate Education cites financial and motivational stresses as the main obstacles.

"Upon graduation from college," the report says, "immediate employment opportunities may appear more rewarding [to blacks] than advanced study in view of the prospect of further financial difficulties, the academic risk of graduate studies and labor market uncertainties."

These root causes often are cited to explain the serious high school drop-out rate, which annually disqualifies more than seven million blacks between the ages of 16 and 34 from attending any kind of college.

And, as the case of Andrew Gray illustrates, even those who do complete high school face a special set of problems when they attempt to enroll in college.

The college entrance exams and proficiency tests all students face have been attacked by various black organizations as "inherently racist" and "rewarding social and economic advantage more than they measure talent."

The Association of Black Psychologists and the National Education Association have both called for a moratorium or outright ban on all standardized testing.

Even those blacks who pass the tests and win admission often discover that "the college environment is not congenial," says Benjamin Payton, a former black college president who now works on educational issues for the Ford Foundation.

While 20 percent of the whites who enroll in college complete their degree studies, only 9.3 percent of the blacks do, according to the Census Bureau.

Bill Sievert is a San Francisco Bay Area-based freelance writer.

ORGANIZATIONS

Ultra-militancy characterizes new organization

By Dan Marshall
Over 1200 workplace activists, vowing to build a united workers movement and "turn every mine and mill into a battlefield, a fortress of struggle," gathered in Chicago Sept. 3-5 at the founding convention of the National United Workers Organization.

The convention, growing out of a July 4th demonstration of several thousand persons in Washington D.C. organized by the Revolutionary Communist Party, brought together workers from steel, auto, mining, electrical, garment and other major industries along with unemployed persons.

Featured speaker at the opening session was Buddy Cochran, a 30-year-old mechanic from Americus, Georgia, who drove his car through a July 2 Ku Klux Klan rally in Plains, injuring over 30, primarily spectators and members of the press. Free on \$50,000 bond, Cochran is awaiting trial on eight counts of aggravated assault.

In a deep Georgia accent that would rival Jimmy Carter himself, Cochran told the enthusiastic crowd how he was "touched off" when a KKK speaker called Carter a slang name. "I got into my car and, on impulse, drove towards

the platform," he explained to the *Chicago Sun-Times*. "The only mistake I made was misjudging my speed. I wanted to sideswipe the platform, not drive through it. It was not my intention to injure anyone. I wanted to disrupt the meeting."

Immediately after the incident, the Organizing Committee for a National Workers Organization set up a defense committee for Cochran, raised bail money for his release, and recruited lawyers from Birmingham, Alabama, to defend him.

Cochran's convention address, where he declared that he was "out to get the judge" that put him in jail, was greeted with chants of "Free Buddy Cochran" that rocked the Great Hall of the Pick-Congress Hotel.

Such militant, violent actions are a major preoccupation of the NUWO, both in their military rhetoric and past activities. On July 4th the Organizing Committee sponsored a demonstration in Columbus, Ohio, that ended up disrupting another KKK rally, resulting in several indictments and a local grand jury investigation.

In New York City, supporters physically broke up a meeting of the Advanced Management Research Institute, an

employer organization that sponsors training seminars around the country to instruct management in the techniques for avoiding or breaking unions. "Workers confronted these bosses, turned over tables, emptied water pitchers on three piece suits and set off stink bombs that postponed the conference for two days," they state proudly.

Their workplace activities have thus far consisted mainly of supporting individual strikes like the four-month rubber strike last year and past wildcats of coal miners, which they participated in through the Right to Strike Committee. They recently organized a public meeting in Johnstown, Pa. to protest layoffs at Bethlehem Steel, one speaker claimed, and led 100 workers who stormed into company offices the next week.

The basic purpose of the NUWO, as "summed up" in a pamphlet by the Revolutionary Communist Party, formerly the Revolutionary Union, is to unify "local fighters" into a nationwide structure that can wage campaigns around workplace or social issues. They believe that a small number of activists, using the "single spark method," can transform particular struggles, "those which have the potential to become major bat-

les of the class," into big fights that threaten capitalist power.

NUWO makes no distinctions between conservative and progressive trade union officers, denouncing them all as "company stoolies" and "traitors," who are "practically indistinguishable from the Boards of Directors of the major corporations." They also tend to idealize strikes as weapons the rank and file should employ "whenever necessary and possible, in a serious and disciplined way, to kick the companies and their lackeys running our unions in the teeth."

The extremely well-organized convention included a multitude of banners, extensive security procedures, heavy recording equipment and simultaneous translations in Spanish and Chinese.

On Sept. 5 delegates demonstrated in front of the Chicago Association of Commerce and Industry to protest the city's voluntary school busing program, an attempt, they charge, to divide white working class people against blacks. Their action put them into conflict with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Operation PUSH and other minority groups that support the plan.

IN BRIEF

New evidence unearthed in Sacco-Vanzetti case



By Sidney Blumenthal
New evidence unearthed in the Sacco-Vanzetti case strongly suggests that the prosecution may have conspired with other authorities in manufacturing a fraudulent case against the two Italian radicals. (IN THESE TIMES, Aug. 17.)

Disclosure of the new evidence came as Massachusetts' celebrated Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti Day, Aug. 23, on the 50th anniversary of their execution. It was officially proclaimed by Gov. Michael Dukakis, who declared that their trial for the murder of a South Braintree paymaster and guard had been "unfair."

Ballistics experts at the 1921 trial linked a shell fired from Sacco's gun to a shell recovered from the scene of the crime. This key shell was one of four shown to the jury. The possibility now exists, how-

ever, that the crucial shell, instrumental in convincing the jury of Sacco and Vanzetti's guilt, may have been fabricated.

A few months before the trial, Harold Williams, assistant district attorney of Norfolk County, prepared notes stipulating that only three shells, not four, were discovered on the site of the South Braintree murders. Williams's handwritten notes say that a policeman, John Shay, recovered the shells. Yet the jury was told by the prosecution that a machinist, James Bostock, had found them, a sharp discrepancy that casts doubt on the prosecution's integrity.

Williams's notes were accidentally discovered in Harvard Law School's archives by Lincoln Robbins, an independent historian who has devoted the past two years researching the still-controversial case. Robbins claims that the fourth shell was fired

through Sacco's gun by the authorities in order to tie him conclusively to the Braintree crime. Robbins also contends that the prosecution suppressed the real identity of the shell's discoverer so that the false evidence could be successfully introduced and accepted in court.

Robbins's hypothesis is conjecture, despite its logic. There is little way of proving it, since almost all the principals in the case are now dead. Williams's notes, however, definitely indicate a disturbing omission in the prosecution's presentation.

Not all of those who played roles in the dramatic affair have passed away. The sole living juror, Harry E. King, 91 years old, appeared recently on a Boston television program devoted to a discussion of the case and offered some revealing views.

King vividly recalled that Sacco and

Vanzetti confessed at their trial that they were "Bolsheviks" and "Communists." Unfortunately, the court transcript does not uphold this version.

King also said that a railroad crossing guard, a key prosecution witness, had identified both Sacco and Vanzetti in a speeding get-away car. Actually the guard claimed to be able to identify only Vanzetti, who, incidentally, could not drive—a fact the defense counsel failed to point out.

King's erratic memory may be attributed to the effective manner in which the jury was manipulated by the prosecution, or senility. At a distance of 50 years after the execution, it is difficult to discern which is responsible for his illusions.

Sidney Blumenthal writes for The Real Paper in Boston.

Infant formula promotion provokes Nestlé boycott

With "Crunch Nestlé Quick" as their slogan, members of the national Infant Formula Action Coalition (INFACT) began a nationwide boycott of Nestlé products last month.

Nestlé is the largest seller of commercial baby milks in the Third World, and the focus of the campaign against infant formula abuse for the first time.

To use the formulas safely a parent must have access to clean drinking water, sterilization equipment, refrigeration, literacy and enough money to mix the expensive powder in sufficiently-nutritional concentrations.

However, such conditions are rare among the people Nestlé aims its ad campaigns at in the Third World. Thus the bottle formulas become breeding grounds for bacteria, leading to infant diarrhea, malabsorption, malnutrition and death. A recent survey of the hospital in Freetown, Sierra Leone found that 713 of 717 babies admitted for malnutrition were bottle-fed.

Meanwhile, human milk is wasted. Breast milk, called the "original convenience food," is always available, sterile, nutritious and free. Most Third World women still carry their infants with them while working at home, in the village or field, and only a small percentage are unable to nurse for medical reasons.

The alarming rate of switchover from

breast to bottle accompanies aggressive and often misleading promotional campaigns, which aim to convince mothers that the way to health, beauty and status is through bottle feeding. These campaigns use extensive media coverage, company-sponsored "health and education programs" to promote their products, sales personnel dressed as "milk nurses" or "mothercraft workers," false implications of medical endorsement, and the wide-spread dissemination of free samples in hospitals and clinics.

The February 1977 issue of the Brazilian publication, *Modern Supermarket*, reveals that processed infant and baby foods have a profit margin of 72 percent—three to four times the profit margins of nearly every other item in the supermarket.

The boycott demands an end to all promotion of Nestlé's artificial formula—through mass advertising, distribution of free samples, milk-nurses and promotion in the medical profession. It also demands that artificial formula be prevented from getting into the hands of people who lack the means or facilities to use them safely.

People who boycott are urged to write letters of protest to Nestlé Co. Inc., 100 Bloomingdale Road, White Plains, N.Y. 10605.

—Liberation News Service

CORPORATE POWER

Roundtable wields immense power behind the scene

By Harry C. Boyte

When the *Wall Street Journal* reported recently that the Business Roundtable, premier organization of the largest corporations, had not yet taken a formal stand on proposed revisions in the labor law (*JTT*, Aug. 24), the news caused a few ever-hopeful liberals to speak of its statesmanlike qualities.

Indeed, the Business Roundtable has carefully sought, and received, similar accolades several times this last year on the occasion of well-placed public relations gestures. Yet the fact is that such activity scarcely illustrates either the mood of big business or the specific agenda of the Roundtable.

The Roundtable's serious efforts this year have advanced the most immediate and predatory of corporate goals on issues of the economy, energy, consumer affairs—with often striking success. In fact, the history and programs of the Business Roundtable over the several years of its existence furnish a remarkable portrait of the corporate community's rightward shift.

In the 1970s the continuing problems of the American economy have evaporated what used to be known as corporate liberalism and have produced instead a savage politics of self-interest and plunder not overtly advocated for decades. The Roundtable has been a major architect of such a politics.

New advocacy organization

The Business Roundtable formed in 1972 out of two smaller groups, the Labor Law Study Committee and the Construction Users Anti-Inflation Roundtable, a group sometimes called "Roger's Roundtable" in honor of its guiding light, Roger Blough of U.S. Steel.

From the outset, it sought the membership of the nation's largest corporate and financial interests. The Roundtable defined itself as a new kind of advocacy organization, designed to "speak out for the business viewpoint," in the words of an early leader, John Harper of the Aluminum Company of America.

In its earliest days, the Roundtable sometimes reflected that style of corporate liberalism fashionable in the last decade. Its original charter held out hope for a new partnership with labor, and the group's first chairman, W.P. Murphy, got brief publicity when he called for standby economic controls in the winter of 1972.

The growing difficulties facing the American economy rapidly withered such hopes. In the spring of 1973 John Connolly won overwhelming support from big business when he sketched Nixon's plans for a post-election "government-business partnership" that would relax government restrictions, aid profit margins and spur foreign sales. As problems mounted over the next several years the private sector's mood became ever more aggressively self-interested and crude.

In the context of this hardening line the Roundtable proved an ideal and timely vehicle for the corporate community. It rapidly recruited the giants of capitalism, including the three largest auto companies, the three largest banks, seven of the largest oil companies, the major steel producers, retailing organizations and utilities—altogether over 150 American firms. Its annual dues ranged on a sliding scale from \$2,500 to \$35,000, and supported a budget of \$2 million, supplemented by special project budgets.

Abandoning the corporate liberal policies of the last decade, the Business Roundtable, under the leadership of duPont's Shapiro (right) has become the premier corporate force in Washington.

But the Roundtable's influence and importance is not to be measured by the amount it spends. The key fact of the Roundtable is its role in bringing together chief executives to talk about developments and to plan strategy.

Working through task forces, the Roundtable helped cohere the disparate criticisms and gripes of big business in the early '70s into a coherent political agenda. In its own name it undertook major campaigns against consumer, anti-trust, and full employment legislation. It used a variety of forums to propound the thesis of a "capital shortage" facing private industry that would require huge increases in profit levels in the coming decade. It helped spur a newly fashionable "free enterprise" propaganda blitz as an accompaniment to the capital shortage argument, placing ads in magazines like *Readers Digest*.

More surreptitiously, the Roundtable was a major force in the Environmental Coordinating Committee, set up to lobby against federal clean air standards, and the Employment Advisory Council, designed to fight affirmative action. Indeed, its task force report on affirmative action formed much of the basis for a Ford administration effort to dismantle effective enforcement, thwarted only at



the last moment by a national coalition of women's and civil rights groups.

The Roundtable used a variety of high pressure tactics to give its efforts clout. Its basic practice was straightforward—it brought chief executives to Washington to lobby directly. Sometimes it also followed up such visits with delegations of workers. It also hired a string of high powered lobbyists like Leon Jaworski. And it was not above rather blatant distortion of the truth to advance its efforts as well. Thus in 1975 the group announced findings of a poll purportedly showing overwhelming public sentiment against the Consumer Protection Agency—a poll soon criticized as biased by polling experts.

Immense power.

With such tactics, the organization, shrouded in secrecy, nonetheless achieved immense power. It killed the consumer protection bill in 1975 and 1976. It aborted anti-trust legislation that would have allowed class actions by damaged consumers. It built support for deregulation of natural gas and undermined legislation on chemical hazards in the workplace. Overall, it contributed to that dramatically rising solicitude in

government toward "business confidence."

By the 1976 elections the Roundtable was unquestionably the dominant organization of big business in America. Its chairman, Shapiro of the du Pont empire, led the business delegation that gave President-elect Carter the "business community's views" on what to do about the economic downswing, immediately after the election.

Its cochair, Reginald Jones of General Electric, was picked by Carter to head the Labor Management Group on inflation with George Meany.

Its economic report in 1977, arguing for less government regulation and government initiatives to spur corporate investment, was answered in June, when Vice President Mondale pledged to the group's annual meeting that the administration's "central role" would be to help stimulate such investment.

And though Carter lobbyists held on grimly to goals like gas price controls and the consumer protection agency, the Roundtable's efforts left the fate of such measures in doubt to the last minute.

Harry Boyte is a writer in Minneapolis, currently working on a book on new populist movements in the U.S.

Business and labor, together and apart

The Business Roundtable is expected to announce soon that it is opposed to labor law reform, shattering the tenuous hopes of the AFL-CIO that the "good will" accumulated between labor and management on other issues—like their mutual revulsion to mandatory wage-price controls—would extend to labor's most important piece of legislation this year.

The Roundtable's task force on labor legislation recently declared its strong opposition to the reform effort because, in the words of their Public Information Director, James Keogh, they felt that "the proposals restrict employee rights and make it easier to bring them into a union structure without appropriate safeguards to their own point of view." Their policy committee, composed of 43 top corporate executives, is expected to concur when it meets in early September.

The Roundtable's position is not likely to disrupt, however, the discussions between top union officials and corporate representatives on the Labor-Management Group, an

informal committee coordinated by former Labor Secretary John Dunlop to advise President Carter on key issues and to help restrain the "wage-price spiral" that government considers a major cause of inflation. All eight industry members of the group are also members of the Business Roundtable.

The AFL-CIO does not consider it contradictory to be working with company executives on some issues, like the construction of nuclear power plants and higher quotas on imported goods, while opposing them on others, like labor law reform, the minimum wage and common situs picketing.

The Roundtable's position also comes as no big surprise, says Al Zack, AFL-CIO Public Relations Director. "We thought they were involved up to the hilt, but were being quiet about it because they wanted to do it under the table."

"The Business Roundtable has been working quietly behind the scenes because they were afraid they would contradict past speeches about the glories of collective bargaining,"

he told *In These Times*, citing the Roundtable's membership in the National Action Committee, the right wing coalition that defeated common situs picketing and has now moved on to labor law reform.

Douglas Fraser, current United Auto Workers' representative to the Labor-Management Group, also has no plans to resign. "It's to our mutual advantage to continue these exchanges," explains Jerry Dale, UAW Assistant Public Relations Director. "But this certainly won't restrain us from fighting like hell on labor law reform."

The moving force behind the group, John Dunlop, now back at Harvard University, sees nothing two-faced in labor's willingness to forge alliances with business on some issues. "The same kind of thing has been true for a hundred years," he explained to the *New York Times*. "It is part of the concept of business unionism, and you can have it only with a labor movement that is not highly ideological."

—Dan Marshall

NUCLEAR POWER

Uniting the anti-nuke movement

By Judy MacLean

In an effort to tie several diverse struggles together and to launch a truly mass movement against all forms of nuclear power, whether as energy or weapons, a group of anti-war activists have brought together an impressive coalition of forces in the Mobilization for Survival. The loose coalition hopes to bring together opponents of nuclear weapons, anti-nuclear power activists and community groups struggling for more money for human needs.

The campaign was kicked off in August when anti-nuclear groups staged demonstrations at 140 sites throughout the country, concentrating on nuclear power stations.

An elaborately organized set of teach-ins and community forums is also planned for October 15—November 15.

Early next year there will be a day of local actions with the slogan "Fund Our Communities." They will be aimed at persuading city governments to demand a redirecting of federal budget priorities away from nuclear arms spending and toward social services.

In May or June a demonstration will be held at the U.N. to coincide with disarmament debates there. "We want to put all governments on notice that we're tired of repeated conferences that lead only to an escalation of the arms race," says David McReynolds of the Mobilization. The organizers hope there will be similar demonstrations throughout the U.S. and the rest of the world on the same day.

The Mobilization's original organizers are veterans of the Ban the Bomb move-

Continued page 7



Public questioning of nuclear power in Vermont

The call for "public participation" is not likely to go away.

By Greg Guma

BURLINGTON, VT—A critical report on the operation and regulation of Vermont's only nuclear power plant has become the springboard for renewed debate over state government's role in nuclear issues. Based on an extensive study of the Vermont Yankee plant's impact on public health and its history of "abnormal occurrences," state Occupational Health Director John Froines has suggested that the state "pursue further authority to oversee activities associated with the nuclear fuel cycle including operation and construction of nuclear power plants."

Froines brought two reports to the State Health Board in August. One recommended that the state consider "challenging the federal government's exclusive authority to regulate the construction and operation of nuclear power plants," while the second opposed further consideration of Vermont as a site for nuclear waste storage or disposal. Despite criticisms by Republican Governor Richard Snelling concerning release of the studies without consulting officials from Yankee, the Health Board decided to hold a public hearing in early October to consider the recommendations.

The major study by radiologist David Scott provides technical explanations of past abnormal incidents at the plant, revealing that fuel rod and emergency core cooling system problems are only the tip of the iceberg.

Governor Snelling responded to the criticisms of nuclear plant operation by appointing a three-man Nuclear Review Committee. But his appointees have all worked within the nuclear industry and

one produced a PR brochure for Yankee.

The governor's panel, paid for its work by Vermont Yankee, will investigate management and safety at the plant while both the utilities and anti-nuclear groups prepare for an extended battle.

Anti-nuclear groups have been active in Vermont throughout the '70s. New activist alliances were also formed as an outgrowth of the Seabrook, N.H., nuclear plant site occupation. Between August 6 and 9 demonstrations involving several hundred people were held in Burlington, Rutland, Montpelier, and at the Yankee site.

Two weeks later representatives of Burlington's Red Clover Alliance and the Montpelier-based Green Mountain Alliance met with Governor Snelling to discuss his three-man review panel, safety at Yankee and the plant's six-week shutdown for refueling.

The anti-nuclear alliances want Yankee to remain closed until safety issues—at least those raised in the Scott report—are resolved. To dramatize the situation they plan a symbolic occupation at Yankee prior to its reopening in October.

Snelling defended his committee and the overall safety of Yankee from the attacks from anti-nuclear activists and the Vermont Public Interest Research Group (VPIRG), which has charged that the governor is quietly dismantling state nuclear controls.

Snelling also established new state agency procedures that give him increased control over government reports—to avoid in the future the problems posed by Scott's report.

The utilities have responded by working closely with the Governor, and orchestrating a propaganda campaign that includes a media blitz around the safety and economy of nuclear energy.

Although safety hazards are likely to remain the thrust of the anti-nuclear cri-

ticisms, especially while the Health Board is embroiled in the argument, economics will also play an increasingly important role. According to a VPIRG study, the cost of electricity from Yankee has already turned out to be four times higher than promised due to increased construction costs, decreased performance and increased fuel costs.

Vermont's state legislature already has laws on the books calling for legislative authorization of construction of plants and storage facilities. These controls do not, however, extend into operational matters. The Scott reports may lead to legal action concerning state

regulatory power over the future operation of Yankee, its storage facility, transportation of fuels and wastes, and other expansion plans now on the drawing board.

Froines called for a "mechanism for public participation" in nuclear issues just a few weeks before his exit from Vermont government to take a federal job. His recommendations, and the damaging evidence of the reports, are not likely to go away. On the contrary, they will fuel the already volatile debate over public safety and nuclear power for some time to come.

Greg Guma is a writer in Vermont.

Vermonters prefer solar

An overwhelming majority of Vermonters recommend a "major effort to further develop solar power and other non-nuclear alternative sources of energy," according to a public opinion poll recently conducted by Rep. James Jeffords. Only July 14 Jeffords read the results of his survey of 11,000 Vermonters in Congress and noted that the findings in the area of energy "may evoke some surprise."

The biggest surprise was that 83 percent of those who responded to questionnaires favored intensified development of solar power, while only 29 percent proposed continued "major investment in development of nuclear power."

The public preference for solar over nuclear energy was complimented by a suggestion from 52 percent that coal be used "with controls to minimize strip mining and air pollution, even if these controls mean higher prices."

The survey also revealed that more Vermonters want to break up the big oil companies than want to remove

price controls as a means of increasing production—34 percent favored measures to divide the oil companies; 20 percent wanted fewer price controls.

Jeffords also asked about dependence on foreign oil, and found that strict conservation goals—and new taxes and import restrictions if goals weren't met—were the preferred solution. More than twice as many people suggested this option as those who favored higher taxes, price increases or rationing.

The poll, which also covered opinions on pay increases for members of Congress, a nationwide beverage container deposit law (93 percent want one), foreign policy and congressional priorities, was the result of a mailing to all Vermont households.

Jeffords concluded that, "the people, at least in Vermont, want us to address our energy problems in a decisive, meaningful and well considered manner. There is no cause for political timidity in doing what must be done."

—G.G.

LABOR

Mechanization threatens farmworkers

By Susan Stern
Pacific News Service

SACRAMENTO, CA.—California's farmworkers, riding the crest of political success, ironically may have won themselves right out of their jobs.

Though they have triumphed in the long and often bloody battle for unionization, defeated the mighty Teamsters in contract disputes, and reaped major workers' benefits from the government, a new and more formidable opponent has entered the fray: the mechanical harvester.

California growers are discovering that the new machines not only are cheaper than the union wage demands, but also that they don't go on strike.

As the tomato harvest begins this month some 11,300 California farmworkers will be replaced by electronic tomato sorters, according to the State Assembly Office of Research.

In the next 10 years mechanical harvesters will replace 80,000 farmworkers—nearly a third of the state's current agricultural labor force—predicts United Farm Workers lobbyist Michael Linfield.

In five major California crops mechanization is already underway, eliminating jobs and drastically changing the face of farm labor from that of men in the fields to one of women on assembly lines.

In some crops, such as wine grapes and cling peaches, mechanization (where adopted) has eliminated virtually all harvest workers but the machine operators. In other crops the machines have taken over in stages. The new electronic tomato sorter is the final stage of mechanization for canning tomatoes, for instance.

Women replacing men in jobs.

The mechanization of California agriculture began when the mechanical tomato harvester was introduced in 1964, the year cheap labor dried up with the termination of the Bracero program that allowed Mexicans to cross the border to fill out the farm labor force.

In five years the tomato harvester displaced 32,000 pickers, but created almost as many jobs for tomato sorters working on the harvesting machine. The tomato pickers had been mostly strong men paid by the piece rate. The sorters have been nearly 80 percent women, preferred for their dexterity, and paid by the hour.

Though some have blessed the tomato harvester for ending "backbreaking" labor, others say the machine has brought the worst of the factory into the fields.

"Working conditions on the machine are horrendous," says Albert Rojas of Campesinos Progresistas, a farmworker re-training organization in Yolo County, the state's leading tomato area. "You have to scream to be heard over the noise," says Rojas, "and the dust mixed with defoliant blows directly into workers' faces."

Mechanization of lettuce is to follow in short order. However, unlike tomato workers, lettuce workers are unionized and will, according to UFW contracts, be retrained and placed in other jobs by growers.

The first workers to be replaced by the lettuce harvester will be the lettuce cutters and trimmers, mostly Mexican nationals, who are now making the highest wages in the field: \$7 to \$10 an hour by the piece rate.

As in the tomato crop new assembly-line-type jobs will be created either on the machine or at the side of the field. But growers usually prefer women for these wrapping and packing jobs, and the packer's hourly wage will be far below what the cutters and trimmers are accustomed to.

There are currently no lettuce machines in the fields, but Leslie Hub-



California growers are discovering that not only are new machines cheaper than rising labor costs, they do not strike.

bard of the Western Growers Association predicts that lettuce picking will be fully mechanized within four or five years as the machines become cheaper than people.

Union resistance.

If workers demand higher wages in the near future, they may tip the scales even further in the machine's direction, and accelerate the mechanization process. Lettuce mechanization began, Linfield points out, when growers gave the University of California \$13,500 for development of the technology after Cesar Chavez led 8,000 Salinas Valley workers out on strike in 1970.

Increasing labor costs have also pushed wine grape and canning peach growers to mechanize about 15 percent of those crops. University of California specialists predict that trend will continue, eliminating the picking jobs and causing nearly 80 percent displacement of workers wherever the machines are adopted.

The new small labor force envisioned for the 1980s would be more stable, says viticulturist Amand Kasimatis. The huge peak harvest force of today would be eliminated, leaving a small force of harvest machine operators who would be able to get fulltime employment.

Such a small, stable workforce with "heavy technological inputs," says sociologist William Freidland, "will encourage workers to join unions."

But the UFW doesn't plan to allow mechanization to winnow its workers down to "stability," even if the survivors are easier to unionize. "You don't end up with much of a union with a couple of thousand workers scattered around the state," says the UFW's Linfield. "The problem is, what becomes of the mass of workers who are displaced?"

The UFW is preparing for future job losses by continuing to organize workers and negotiate mechanization-controlling contracts. But the union's main thrust, says Linfield, will be directed toward

halting state funded mechanization research through legislation to require "social impact reports."

Though fighting mechanization is one of the UFW's main priorities, the union is just now gearing up for the battle. The state's tomato workers, meanwhile, are nearly at the end of their rope.

When the tomato harvesters roll this month, many families will be left behind in migrant camps, without food or enough money to leave. In Yolo County, officials are desperately trying to get emergency funds from the state, but they have so far been unsuccessful—no one seems to have funds for this type of disaster.

Jim Aragon, a young Arizonian who was displaced last year, recently returned to Yolo County again because the prospects for work were even drearier at home. "If I can't get work in tomatoes," he says, "I will go to the city, any city, to find a job."

Susan Stern is a Bay Area freelance journalist.

Mobilization for survival

Continued from page 6

ment of the '50s and early '60s, which mushroomed into the mass anti-war movement during the Vietnam era.

According to Sidney Lens, whose book *The Day Before Doomsday* provides inspiration for the Mobilization, he and David McReynolds and several other activists "decided we had to revive the old Ban the Bomb Movement, with two additions.

"First, we had to bring in the nuclear power issue because of the question of proliferation," Lens estimates that the world spread of nuclear power plants will give 40 countries access to nuclear bombs within eight years.

"Second, we had to give people some kind of hope that money saved on the arms race would go for funding human needs."

The loose coalition, with no members, only "cooperating organizations," has attracted such groups as the Clamshell Alliance, American Friends Service Committee, War Resister's League and hundreds of grassroots peace and energy groups.

Rich Pollock, director of the Nader-oriented Critical Mass Energy Project, says his group decided to get involved

because fighting nuclear power can help stop the spread of weapons. "And second, the question of how we're going to feed, house and clothe people is tied to the question of making energy affordable for people. The nuclear disarmament issue and people's needs are tied up with energy and who controls it," he says.

The Mobilization's organizers are hoping for world support. Peace groups around the world are being approached to have demonstrations to coincide with the spring U.N. action.

European socialist and communist parties generally do not support disarmament, fearing the large Soviet army near at hand. However David McReynolds believes they may support the Mobilization, which opposes nuclear weapons in the U.S., the Soviet Union, and every other power. "The Mobilization is not anti-Communist. It is independent of the U.S., the U.S.S.R., and China. We think the European parties may subscribe to our position, as the Japanese Communist party has already done," he says.

The coalition has a delicate task, keeping a number of groups with very

different priorities in cooperation. "These are groups that have never worked together. We're all unclear about how we operate. This is a testing period. But it is encouraging that people see the need to merge our resources," says Pollock.

Like many of the local cooperating groups, the Clamshell Alliance stresses that it will not submerge its priorities into the Mobilization. "While we don't discount the need for disarmament, our main concern is stopping nuclear power," says Sharon Tracy of Clamshell.

Only time will tell if the wide leeway for cooperating groups will mean the Mobilization will have the unity to become the mass movement it hopes to be.

"We're educating each other," says McReynolds. "Anti-nuclear power activists have a wide range of politics. Some are very conservative. When they work with us, they'll be forced to reappraise their conservatism. If power plants are dangerous, what about weapons? It's a creative conflict for people."

"We're still exploring ways we can work to further our common concerns. It's a question of survival. Time is running out and we can't afford the luxury of fighting among ourselves," says Norie Huddle of the Mobilization staff.

"It's a sign of the times," adds Pollock. "We're learning that many issues people thought were separate aren't so separate after all."

Random Samples

Confessions out in Dawson case

In a surprise move August 29 Georgia Circuit Judge Leonard Farkas ruled that confessions allegedly given by five black youths on trial in South Georgia for the murder of a white man—the Dawson Five (*ITT*, Aug. 24)—would be inadmissible in their trials.

The confessions had earlier been challenged by defense attorneys as having been obtained through coercion and intimidation, including the holding of a loaded pistol to the head of one defendant and a threat to electrocute another. The judge, however, did not rule on the merits of that argument, ruling instead that because an earlier judge had failed to decide on the admissibility of the confessions before removing himself from the case for health reasons, they could not be admitted.

The prosecution has 30 days to appeal the decision. Their appeal is expected to delay the trials of the five defendants, all of whom are now out on bond, from 30 to 90 days.

Stevens found in contempt

August 31 the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit declared that J.P. Stevens Co., a major textile company that has been the target of an intensive union organizing campaign for several years, was in flagrant violation of court orders. The court ruled the company in contempt and denounced its persistent harassment of union organizers. It ordered the company to comply with the National Labor Relations Act and court orders enforcing it.

The court indicated that it was con-

dering a fine of \$120,000 for any future violation of its orders. "The arguments in favor of a compliance fine in this case are strong," it said. "Stevens has acted in contempt of our court decrees not once but twice, involving over 30 individual violations. Its violations have been described as massive, cynical and flagrantly contemptuous."

Meanwhile, J.P. Stevens has apparently succeeded in intimidating the mayor of Atlanta, Maynard Jackson, into rescinding an executive order that the city join a nationwide boycott of Stevens' products.

The withdrawal of the city order came after Stevens filed suit in federal court complaining that the ban violated its constitutional rights.

No rights for South African women

South Africa is now using its anti-black "riotous Assemblies Act" against women. South African police invoked the law, originally designed to prevent black riots, to stop a protest march by white women demanding equal rights with white men in mid August.

The women had gathered outside Pretoria city hall carrying banners and demanding an audience with Prime Minister John Vorster to present a women's rights charter. The women were about to start their protest when 30 armed riot police arrived and ordered them to disperse.

States funding abortions

Health, Education and Welfare Secretary Joseph Califano ordered an immediate end to federal funding of most abortions for low-income women last month after a federal judge in New York lifted a year long injunction against an

abortion spending ban enacted last year by Congress.

The National Abortion Rights Action League now reports that the District of Columbia and 13 states have indicated that they will find funds in their state treasuries to pay for the abortions.

Among those states are New York, California, Washington, Maryland, Ohio, Kentucky, Wisconsin, Hawaii, Alabama, West Virginia, and Michigan.

Idaho has said that the state will pay for an abortion if two attending physicians say that it is medically necessary.

No gays in Burgerland?

Frowns hit Burgerland this spring when a man who once worked as Ronald McDonald in Boston announced he was gay.

The controversy started when Bob Brandon told a gay rally in Daytona Beach, Fla. that he at one time was Ronald McDonald—the clown nationally known for promoting McDonald's hamburgers.

The McDonald Corporation promptly went to court and got Florida Circuit Judge Robert Miller to order Brandon never to make himself up as anything resembling the advertising clown and enjoined Brandon from stating that "Ronald McDonald is gay or a homosexual."

Default now or wait five years

A wave of student defaults on government backed loans has prompted Congress to pass a law that makes it substantially more difficult for a student to declare bankruptcy right after graduation and thus avoid loan repayment.

Adopted in October 1976 the law goes into effect September 30, 1977 and provides that a person cannot discharge his or her responsibility for loan repayment by bankruptcy for five years after the loan falls due. After five years the person would be free to file bankruptcy and be free of the loan obligation.

Apparently, Congress assumed that a person would be more integrated into jobs and family situations after five years and would be more reluctant to file for bankruptcy, which affects all personal finances and has a negative affect on the ability to get future credit.

A wave of last minute filings for bankruptcy is expected before the September 30 deadline.

Kentucky group opens mine

Unable to find anyone to sell them home heating coal, residents of Knotts County, Kentucky decided to start their own mine. Many residents had been unable to purchase coal and when they could find it had to pay \$25-35 per ton—a sizeable expense for people whose family income averages under \$5,000 a year.

Using money from churches, Knotts County residents formed Citizens for Social and Economic Justice in July 1976. CSEJ created the Knotts County Benevolent Coal Co. and opened a small mine that produces 125-300 tons a day. The mine also employs between five and nine full-time workers at

\$6.25 an hour (about union wages).

KCB coal provides customers with furnace coal at \$12 a ton. The organization has also launched a food co-op and a farm and garden co-op.

(Self Reliance Newsletter)

Union membership down

A September 2 Labor department report revealed that union membership declined by 767,000 or 3.8 percent, over the last two years. This was the first drop in membership in 15 years, although the percentage of union membership in the total work force has been dropping for several years—from 21.7 percent in 1974 to 20.1 percent in 1976, for instance.

There was some growth, however, in bargaining groups representing white collar and service workers, although many of these workers are in professional associations outside of the traditional labor movement. Such associations grew by 400,000 members.

Although only about 20 percent of union members are women, they made up a majority of the membership loss. Analysts attributed the disproportionate loss in women union membership to heavy layoffs in the garment trades, electronics and other industries that hire more women, as well as to the last-hired-first-fired effects of seniority systems.

UN sidesteps on Puerto Rico

A United Nations committee sidestepped a controversial Cuban resolution demanding independence for Puerto Rico September 2 when it voted to adjourn for a year. The decision by the Special Committee on Decolonization represented a victory for the U.S., which, while not a member of the committee, had lobbied heavily for the adjournment.

The U.S. maintains that despite changing attitudes in Puerto Rico, that island's status is not a concern of the UN. UN observers, however, believe that had the resolution come to a vote, it would have passed. The one year adjournment only gives the U.S. more time to reassess the island's present commonwealth status.

Hearings on the Cuban resolution this year drew the widest response ever; the committee heard representatives from almost every political perspective in Puerto Rico. Despite disagreements on almost all other issues, Puerto Ricans testifying before the committee agreed that the island's present status is intolerable and that it contains "vestiges" of colonialism.

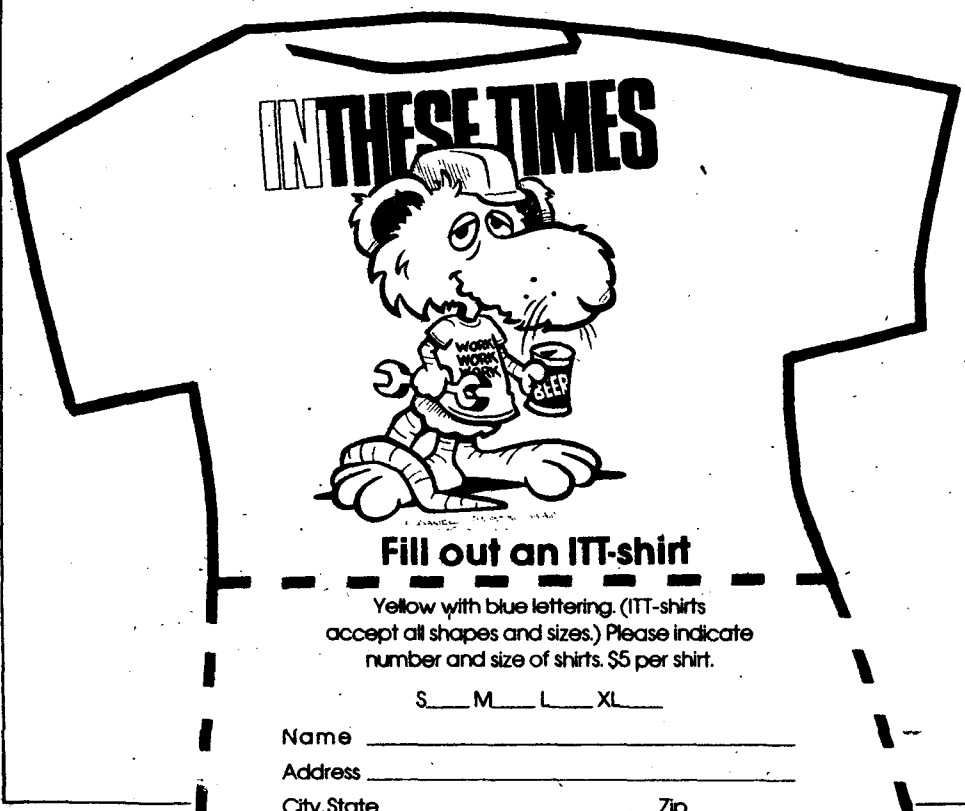
Flush at own risk

Finally, UPI reported on August 19 that the toilet at the nuclear reactor at the University of Florida has a sign on the door that reads "Please don't flush the toilet while the reactor is running." The reason is simple—when the toilet is flushed one of the reactor's cooling systems malfunctions.

Just to reassure you, a spokesman for the Nuclear Regulatory Commission says that there is no safety violation involved and that "the situation is merely a nuisance."

Reassured?

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20 pounds in my ITT-shirt.
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IN THE WORLD

ITALY

New compromise: "Deep down, we know it's right."

“Were coming from afar and going far.” The young Communist journalist was resorting to a favorite party slogan to relieve his disappointment over the terms of the common governmental program reached by Italy's six constitutional parties in June. To explain his disappointment he cited the example of the current effort to force a fair rent bill through the Senate. “The party is asking us to fight for a bill that was twice watered down in the Cabinet and Senate and which itself is the product of a political compromise. How can we get excited about a compromise inside a compromise within a greater historical compromise?”

The journalist was echoing the impatience felt by many Communists over the slow rate of political change in Italy. To conclude from this impatience that a rebellion is brewing in the ranks would be to misconstrue its significance and ignore the history of a party that has been marked by many audacious compromises decided by top leaders and only slowly digested by the party. “Deep down,” admitted the journalist, “we know it's right. There is no other way out of the current crisis.”

Party leaders are naturally more positive about the accord. With it they believe they have surmounted the most serious obstacles to their participation alongside the Christian Democrats (DC) in power. It has received the endorsement of all six constitutional parties, which represent 99 percent of the voters, including nearly all provincial DC federations. Its anti-Communist critics such as former Premier Amintore Fanfani find themselves increasingly isolated in the ruling party. If the triumphant reception accorded Premier Giulio Andreotti in Washington is any indication, it has even disarmed American opposition.

Tough stand against violence.

After a year of political immobility and uncertainty, the Communists have persuaded nearly everyone but Washington of the inevitability if not the desirability of their participation in government. Many had expected the Communists to enter the government much earlier following their impressive showing (34 percent) in the June 1976 parliamentary elections, but these observers failed to reckon with the equally respectable performance of the DC, whose 39 percent stiffened their resistance to Communist participation and threatened a dangerous polarization of Italian politics. Suspended in mid-air between opposition and participation, the Communists were left vulnerable to the attacks of the extra-parliamentary left, which used the student movement to try to interrupt the process of historical compromise.

Berlinguer has recently taken a tough stand against the violence-prone “autonomists” in the student movement. He argued it was necessary to prevent provocations and a disorientation of the working class and preserve an opening to the DC. As a result, the party has held on to its working class base, enhanced its credibility as a constitutional party, and marginalized the extra-parliamentary left. Despite severe losses registered in local elections South of Naples—highlighted by the liberal press—the party has actually continued its electoral progress in Northern cities since the stu-

The Italian Communists are determined to make a virtue out of necessity. Their new program takes the need for austerity as its starting point. They propose measures that would redistribute wealth and fight corruption

(right) Giulio Andreotti and Enrico Berlinguer

dent disturbances in March. At the recent congress of the CGIL, the major trade union confederation, the extreme and extra-parliamentary left had only two percent of the delegates.

But this success was not without its cost. The party has had to respond publicly to charges circulated by Parisian friends of the extra-parliamentary left, including Jean-Paul Sartre, that they are fostering political repression in the university city of Bologna. Their halo as the champion of Italian intellectuals has been dimmed. Membership in the Young Communists is down slightly, and leaders acknowledge their failure to communicate party position to the younger generation.

For the moment, however, the party seems more intent upon strengthening its working class character. Partly as a result of an incompatibility rule that bars trade union officials from party posts, the Italians have become perhaps the first Communist party to be run primarily by intellectuals of middle-class origins like the Berlinguer brothers. Efforts are underway to promote working class leaders to correct the imbalance.

Disagreement over wage restraint.

For the party the governmental accord offers a positive political framework and contractual basis for working class struggle, which will be required to force the government to implement and extend its terms.

Its clearest mandate concerns regional and local autonomy, the implementation of the law conferring authority over health, social services, natural resources and other matters to regional governments and the liquidation of useless and redundant state agencies that have been the mainstay of political patronage for the ruling DC. Since the Communists share directly or indirectly in the administration of most regions and large cities, the de-centralization measures will extend Communist and popular grass-roots participation in vital areas of Italian life.

Other positive features of the accord for the Communists are a coordinated attack against political terrorism, a commitment to reduce unemployment in the South and among women and youth, a utilitarian reform of the university and a guarantee of political pluralism in nominations for the television network and other public agencies.

The accord barely papers over the



sharp disagreements that remain over economic and wage policy. The Communists concede that immediate steps must be taken to improve labor productivity through the elimination of absenteeism and goldbricking and the promotion of labor mobility and job retraining, but they remain staunch defenders of the “scala mobile,” the wage escalator that protects the huge wage and fringe benefits won by organized workers since 1968.

Echoing the demands of Italian manufacturers, the DC is still pushing for a rollback of these wages and benefits and higher taxes on wage earners. Until they abandon this position, which is untenable in view of labor's opposition, further cooperation with the Communists will be delayed.

Austerity with socialist face.

Most Marxists economists believe that even if a policy of capitalist austerity were politically feasible, it would not resolve the long-term structural crisis of capitalist accumulation. Capitalist economies all over the world are caught in a double bind of inflation and unemployment. The Italian situation is particularly grave because of its relatively low technological level and poverty of natural resources.

In the past year the Andreotti government has managed to slow inflation and stabilize the lira only by arresting industrial activity, raising unemployment (fostering the growth of super-exploited “clandestine” domestic and piece workers) and aggravating the inequalities between North and South. A full-blown capitalist austerity plan might momentarily revive some industrial sectors, but in the long run would only lead the country backward to greater foreign dependency and underdevelopment.

The Communist version of austerity with a socialist face, outlined in a recently released “medium term project” for the next five years, aims to restore balanced growth to the Italian economy while bringing greater justice into Italian society. Through democratic planning investment would be directed away from the capital hungry export oriented heavy industries, steel and chemicals, into lighter manufacturing and agriculture, sectors capable of providing the jobs and supplying the consumer goods needed to restore balance to the economy. Since government holding companies already control one half of all industrial

investment, no further nationalizations will be required to assure public control and a non-capitalist development of the economy.

Making a virtue out of necessity, the Communists want to use austerity measures against wasteful private and public expenditure to bring greater equality, justice and sociability to Italian life. Redundant public agencies and profitable sinecures will be pruned, and the savings channeled into better health, educational and housing facilities. A shift from such wasteful forms of individual consumption as the private automobile to more economical collective forms like public transportation will be encouraged. The conservation of energy and raw materials will enable Italy to establish more lasting equitable relations with Third World producers. Austerity measures will in short conform to the need for greater distributive justice.

Non-capitalist austerity will also require voluntary wage restraint for the more privileged sectors of the working class. Marxist and non-Marxist economists agree that current industrial wage levels are incompatible with the maintenance of the capitalist system. Marxist economists believe they can be preserved but not extended under a restructured system. Trade unions will thus have to cease thinking of themselves as claimants on the system and begin assuming responsibility for productive investment, labor productivity and use of scarce resources.

Already most of the unions in the three major confederations, Communist, Socialist and Catholic, seem to be adopting this approach. Italy is perhaps the only country today where wage issues have been relegated to secondary importance in labor disputes and negotiations and where many contracts regularly include clauses relating to industrial investment, jobs, housing, transportation and other social matters.

If the historical compromise is understood broadly as a process of uniting Catholic and non-Catholic, more accurately, practicing and non-practicing Italian Catholics, around an anti-capitalist strategy, then it has been underway in the trade unions for some time. Communist leaders believe it will not be long before it reaches the summits of party organization and state power.

Bernard H. Moss recently returned from Italy.

COMMENTARY

Spanish left were the real winners

With the votes from left-dominated cities just coming in, Suarez had a slim lead.

When the final tally was announced, his margin had grown.

What had seemed at 5:45 a.m., June 16, 1977, as a sweeping victory for the government of King Juan Carlos and Premier Adolfo Suarez had, by late afternoon, become the opposite.

Initial returns from the previous day's first freely contested elections in Spain in forty years showed Suarez' Union of the Democratic Center (UCD) receiving 44 percent of the vote opposed to the runner-up Socialist Workers Party (PSOE) with 25 percent. A final count of the popular vote was promised for "later in the day" by Minister of the Interior, Sr. Martin Villa.

It was not forthcoming. Instead, Sr. Villa, at a televised news conference, simply projected the seats each party would win, based upon his original figures.

Then, with the bulk of the returns now coming from the cities and the industrial areas, the pattern changed. Suarez' UCD was now shown at 4,989,102, or 31 percent, and the Socialist Workers Party of Felipe Gonzalez at 4,580,406, or 29 percent. The gap between the two was narrowing rapidly. Indeed, the PSOE, together with the smaller, Popular Socialists (PSP) of Tierno Galvan, already had a combined vote of 180,000 more than the party of Suarez and the king.

The popular Madrid newspaper, *Diario 16*, chose to flaunt in bold headlines, and from every newsstand: "Felipe and Tierno have more votes than Suarez!"

A mysterious gap of some 36 hours then ensued wherein the government issued no returns at all. When the count was resumed the UCD was once more ahead of both Socialist parties and had miraculously regained a commanding lead over the PSOE.

Reentering the arena, *Diario 16* stated flatly that: "More votes seem to have been added than the total of new voters registered."—the "add-ons" being given to the party of Suarez. Whereas the UCD had polled but one-third of the first sixteen million votes, it had polled two-thirds of the last 1.5 million—votes derived exactly from those industrial areas where, until the 36-hour gap, all posted returns had been overwhelmingly left!

For awhile the atmosphere was "July '36" all over again. Boulevard cafes, workers centers, and left party headquarters in every city rang to derisive laughter and the angry shouts of *Pucherazo!* (election fraud); stemming idiomatically from *el puchero*, the pot. To this day few cartoons of Sr. Martin Villa appear in any mag or tabloid without the "pot," broken or otherwise, perched precariously upon his head.

A month later the incomplete (97 percent) but final returns—as far as the government was concerned—were posted as follows:

Union of the Democratic Center	6,020,993	33.8%	165 seats
Socialist Workers Party	4,998,827	28.7%	118 seats
Communist Party	1,582,022	9.2%	20 seats
Popular Alliance (Fascist)	1,449,091	8.0%	17 seats
Popular Socialist Party	2,000,000	4.3%	6 seats

Other than a registered two percent of the vote for minor left parties, the remaining one percent was divided between the regionalist parties of Catalonia and the Basque country. Since the Communists and Socialists had won heavily in those areas, the regionalist vote consisted of landowners and the like and was conservative. It took votes from the UCD and Manuel Fraga's Popular Alliance.

Officially therefore, and despite all doctored returns, the combined Left received 44.2 percent of the total—just six percent short of an absolute majority.

That the six percent could actually have been achieved—and was—is solid fact. For the add-ons to the UCD—a conservative estimate suggests 500,000 in the cities alone—is just the tip of the proverbial iceberg.

Election fraud.

The new electoral laws of Premier Suarez and the king heavily favored the rural and conservative provinces over the industrial areas and the major cities. How else could the UCD have achieved a near-majority of 165 of 350 seats in the Congress of Deputies and a majority of 106 of the 207 elected seats in the Senate (41 senators are appointed by the king); with but six million votes to the combined Left's seven million? More! The villagers of those areas remain generally at the mercy of the great landowners and the wholly fascist Civil Guard. The vote is not free.

A further, blatant example of mass "pucherazo" is revealed in the handling of the 800,000 overseas Spanish votes. Less than a year ago at the time of the referendum on the dissolution of the Franco appointed Cortes and the enactment of new election laws, ballots were literally rushed to all absentees, with full knowledge of how they would vote. Eighty percent were for the Suarez referendum! In the recent elections, states the expatriate, *Asociacion de Emigrados*, less than two percent of the 800,000 were able to participate. Ballots were simply not sent out. In Switzerland, where some did trickle through, all letters addressed to polling places in Spain were refused. "To avoid," said the Swiss, "interference in the affairs of Spain." But short months before, La Pasionaria had addressed 50,000 Spaniards in Geneva.

In California, the 200 eligible members of the Los Angeles colony demanding ballots of their Consulate, were simply ignored. Without a doubt the overseas vote would have heavily favored the left.

That the 500,000 illegal ballots were deliberately juxtaposed to the left vote in the industrial areas was but a part of the problem. Workers were also denied their ballots. Tens of thousands of Madrilenos, to cite one example, arrived at their polls to be told that there were no ballots; that they were just now being printed and would arrive shortly. They never did! No more than 67 percent of the Madrid returns have ever been posted; this perhaps, to allow the UCD of Suarez to carry the "seat of government." Madrid's "doctored" returns were: UCD, 32.3 percent. PSOE, 31.6 percent, and the Communist Party with better than 15 percent.

Officially, the Left won in Catalonia, Asturias, the Basque country, and in Valencia, Madrid, Barcelona, Sevilla, and almost every major city. Unofficial-



ly, the left won the elections—and all of Spain knows it!

Suarez' shaky base.

The question arises: If the left has won, then why is the vote not contested? The strategy of the Spanish left is to consistently involve the people directly in struggles for reforms of all kinds, inclusive of organization toward the seizure of political and actual power, while simultaneously avoiding needless confrontations that could force a new amalgam, a paradigm of the polarization of the Center-Right. The Spanish Left knows that the base of the UCD of Suarez and the King—12 minor parties of Christian Democrat and Left Republican types—is at best, shaky.

All Spain knows that their own multinationals and subsidiaries of the newly industrialized Spain cannot afford a return to the restrictions of a feudal or fascist system. With continued democracy all doors are open—including the Common Market. Without it, there will be nothing!

Suarez unsuccessful in forging a coalition with the Socialists

Faced with continuing strikes and political opposition, Spanish Prime Minister Adolfo Suarez returned early from a tour of European capitals to meet with Felipe Gonzalez, leader of the Socialist Workers Party. After the September 6 meeting, Gonzalez told the press that there was no prospect of a coalition between the two parties neither of which gained a majority in last June's election unless Suarez accepted the Socialists' program for economic nationalization and reform.

The Socialist leader did not discount, however, the possible abstention of his party when Suarez's legislative program is submitted to the Spanish parliament in the next several days. An abstention policy similar to the one practiced by the Italian Communist party would permit Suarez to govern without forcing another round of potentially inconclusive elections. It will also permit the Socialists to separate themselves from

A pluralistic, socialist government for Spain is on the order of the day. The first step, the national elections has been taken. The second step, municipal elections throughout Spain, is not too far away. The alignment of forces in terms of their actual strength will, at that time, be more than obvious.

A transitional danger will continue. There will be those on the left who will also be less than satisfied with the slowness of the process. The 40 years of fascism will be all too soon forgotten.

But the most profound phenomenon is the measure of the maturity of Spain's people. They have brought their country once more to the threshold of freedom, and this in part by the quite brilliant use of the very apparatus designed to oppress them.

Short of World War III, there will be no return to tyranny in Spain. The Spanish people won the elections and fascism is irrevocably dead.

Arthur Landis is the author of *Spain, the Unfinished Revolution and the Abraham Lincoln Brigade*.

the troubled administration of Spain.

The call for a coalition government was made last week by the president of the Chamber of Deputies, a member of Suarez's party in the influential daily newspaper *El Pais*. A coalition, it was claimed, would strengthen democracy and avoid internal strife that could prompt a military takeover. A coalition or any other arrangement would probably last until early 1978 after a new constitution is drafted and municipal elections occur.

Suarez's efforts earlier this year to ensure Spanish stability through devaluation of the peseta and austerity programs have encountered opposition within Spanish trade unions, where bargaining representatives will be elected this fall. Suarez has been trying without success to reach a social compact with union leaders, Socialists and Communists, to keep wages down.

Barry Winograd, *Internews*

THE MIDDLE EAST

Nazareth hosts a workcamp with Arabs and Jews

NAZARETH—We slept crowded in large, half-open tents, ate quickly on long tables and benches under the roof of an unfinished building, showered outdoors in cold water. Long days of physical labor were followed by long nights of singing and dancing.

A revival of the pioneering labor spirit of 50 years ago? Not exactly.

Most of the 2000 laborers were Arabs, half from Nazareth, where the workcamp was held, and others from about 50 cities and villages throughout Israel. A delegation of about 50 Palestinian students from Bir Zeit University on the occupied West Bank also attended for one day. About 100 Israeli Jews participated in the camp.

The work camp was organized by the beleaguered city government of Nazareth, Israel's largest Arab city (about 45,000), and the only city in the Mideast governed by a Communist mayor. The present administration took over after an election in December, 1975, in which the Communist-led "Democratic Front" won two-thirds of the vote. In the past, the city had been ruled by coalitions of local parties allied with the central government in Jerusalem. The previously-elected city council was disbanded due to incompetence and replaced by an appointed council, until the 1975 election installed the current mayor, Toufik Ziad, who is also a member of parliament for the Communist Party (*Rakah*) within the national Democratic Front for Peace and Equality.

An embattled city.

The Israeli CP has, over the last few years, greatly increased its influence among the half million Arabs in the country, and become their main political advocate in the struggle against the pervasive discrimination they face in almost all areas of life. In the recent parliamentary elections, the DFPE won about 50 percent of the vote among Arabs—even more in the larger cities and towns where Arabs live, including Nazareth.

The government is hostile towards the CP and those who work with it. Most Israeli Jews consider them to be identified with the "enemy." Common opinion falsely believes that the CP opposes Israel's continued existence, even in the pre-1967 borders. Last year, Amnon Linn, a *Likud* "Arab affairs expert" and member of parliament, called for outlawing the CP. The party's totally uncritical stance towards the Soviet Union's socialism and foreign policy does not help its popularity either. Only about 0.5 percent of Israel's Jews supported the Democratic Front list in May.

The special election in Nazareth in 1975, to replace the appointed city council, attracted national attention. In the weeks before the vote, then ministers of housing and labor (both Labor party) made appearances in the town, and threatened of problems that an "unfriendly" city administration would face. Nevertheless, the front led by the popular Ziad won overwhelmingly.

The threats have not turned out to be empty ones. Almost immediately upon taking office, the city was faced with a partial cut-off of its water supply due to unpaid bills—no matter that they were run up during the previous administration.

The most annoying problem has turned out to be that of the city budget: the vast majority of municipal funds in Israel are supplied through the Ministry of the Interior. Its chief for the northern district, including Nazareth and most of



Above: Mayor Toufik Ziad

Right: participants at workcamp

the country's Arabs, is Yisrael Koenig, author of a secret report advocating openly racist policies, leaked last fall to the press. Nazareth's proposed budget for 1976-77, submitted in early 1976, was approved only several weeks ago, taking much longer than normal.

The budget for 1977-78 is still pending. And the sums approved are significantly less than for some smaller Jewish towns in the area, which, in contrast with Nazareth, benefit from government subsidized housing and investment incentives, part of the program to "Judaize the Galilee." Nazareth's Jewish neighbor, Upper Nazareth, contains hundreds of empty apartments and less than one-half the number of residents—on an area three times as large.

Nor have counter-measures against the Nazareth municipality been merely financial. On "Land Day" in 1976, police ransacked Mayor Ziad's house, physically attacking his wife. Several days before the 1977 general elections, shots were fired into the house during the night by unknown persons. Even during the recent work camp, someone shot into the air during one of the nightly concerts and fled, apparently attempting to



disrupt the program and scare away the participants.

An uncommon vacation.

But the singing and dancing went on that evening, and work took place as scheduled the next morning. Over 50 work sites were carefully prepared in advance. Projects included plastering and painting many of the town's schools and repairing their furniture, installing water pipes, erecting and painting fences, cleaning streets, building pedestrian walkways, gardening and painting murals. At the camp's conclusion, the mayor estimated the work done at a value of half a million dollars.

Hundreds of the city's youth and dozens of professional builders, painters, architects and plumbers, donated their services and equipment. The shovels, brooms, wheelbarrows and paintbrushes necessary for such a large undertaking were collected from residents. Menus were planned and food was cooked in hundreds of homes every day and brought to the camp.

A Jewish-Arab work camp in Nazareth is not a very common way for young Israeli Jews to spend a few days

of their summer vacation. For some Jewish participants, the strong feeling of Jewish-Arab solidarity and cooperation was a relatively new experience, very different from the usual mutual suspicion accompanying most random encounters between Arabs and Jews. At the Nazareth camp, the feeling of welcome was genuine, if almost a little too strong—perhaps roughly analogous to that accorded the first white civil rights workers who went south in the early stages of the movement.

But the analogy does not go very far in describing Arab-Jewish relations in Israel. Arabs here are much more segregated, not by law, but by history, language, and strong nationalist feelings on both sides. Also, the national conflict across the borders overshadows the question of internal relations. But with the advent of some sort of regional political solution in the not-too-distant future, the nature of Arab-Jewish relations within Israel is likely to have major influence on Israel's attempts to win acceptance by its neighbors.

David Mandel is an editor of *New Outlook* and a member of Sheli.

LATIN AMERICA

U.S. whitewash of dictators

MEXICO CITY—After a season of mild reproofs to the South American military dictators for their terror regimes out-Hitlering Hitler, the U.S. government and media have brought into action their heavy whitewashing machinery.

Eight senators returned from a "Human Rights" inspection tour with expressions of "sympathy" for the terror regimes, "clearly showing" (as Mexico's *Excelsior* commented) "the real character of the U.S. government's policy toward Latin America."

Undersecretary of State for Latin American Affairs Terence Todman, reporting on friendly visits to the Chilean, Argentine, Uruguayan and Paraguayan tyrants, said the human rights situation has "improved" and that the thousands of "disappearances" of democrats in those countries were "a long-term question:" in Chile, he said, much fewer people have disappeared than some may think.

"Many Chileans," he went on, as quoted in *Excelsior*, "had several voters' identity cards during the Allende administration, so that one person's disappearance aroused fears that five or six

were missing." [See *In These Times*, August 31]

Todman was followed in Santiago by the *New York Times's* broad-visioned Latin American expert Juan de Onis, who reported more or less amiably on Pinochet in an article accompanied by a photo of him hugging a baby in "a working-class neighborhood." Pinochet said Chile would have elections "in eight or ten years, in the best of circumstances . . . if the country continues to show positive signs." De Onis concluded that Pinochet "does not intend to move toward a more democratic regime under U.S. pressure." This presumably means that Pinochet has been reassured that the pressure the U.S. could exert, and which would be decisive, will not be exerted.

The comment (Aug. 27) by *Excelsior*, Mexico's leading daily, reflects general Latin American opinion on these charades. When President Carter's statements on Human Rights "brought angry protests from conservative U.S. circles, Carter backtracked under this light pressure, showing the small conviction and firmness in his declarations."

Excelsior continued: "What is most important about the senators' visit to the

Southern Cone is not their expressions of 'sympathy' for the military governments, but the announcement of a plan for 'economic aid.' Unequivocal proof that the Carter administration is disposed to maintain them in power, contrary to the desires and interests of the great majority of their peoples. In exchange for this support the Democratic government requires democratization plans for 10 to 15 years ahead, along with hypocritical declarations of respect for human rights.

"However, those who rose to power trampling on democracy and popular aspirations cannot turn into democrats overnight, far less respect rights whose permanent violation permits them to stay in power. Thus the Carter policies for Latin America have become a bad joke for those who believed in his words. At the same time they confirm the peoples' revolutionary convictions that no force capable of freeing the Southern Cone from military totalitarianism will arise from the bosom of imperialism."

Cedric Belfrage lives in Cuernavaca and writes regularly about Latin American affairs.



Courtesy duPont

Pablo Neruda Poet of Peace & Revolution

By Christian Eaby

Pablo Neruda was born July 12, 1904, in Parral, a small frontier town in southern Chile. His father was a railroad worker who died in a work accident while Neruda was still a boy. In 1920, at the age of 16, Neruda went to Santiago for high school. At the age of 19, in 1924, he published *Veinte Poemas de Amor y Una Cancion Desesperada*. He said later that "love poems were sprouting out all over my body." He writes of the vastness of nature, of oceanic love, of light houses. His love is all the world.

*I have gone marking the atlas of your body
with crosses of fire.*

Even then he was writing with a clarity of vision, constantly leaping images, writing of peasants and the earth.

*Body of woman, white hills, white thighs,
you look like a world, lying in surrender.
My rough peasant's body digs in you
and makes the child leap from the
depth of the earth.*

By his early 20's Neruda's future political ideas had already begun to take shape. He says in the preface to a novel he wrote at that time, "In my day to day life, I am a tranquil man, the enemy of laws, leaders and established institutions. I find the middle class odious, and I like the lives of people who are restless and unsatisfied whether they are artists or criminals."

When he was 23, the Chilean government gave Neruda a post in the consular service in the Far East. This was a traditional practice to encourage young poets. During the next five years he was stationed in Burma, Siam, China, Japan and India. In 1932, he returned to South America and served for a time as consul in Buenos Aires. There he met Lorca who was in Argentina on a lecture tour.

Residencia en la Tierra, or *Residencia I*, was published in 1933. Many of the poems in *Residencia I* and *Residencia II*, (which was published in Spain in 1935) were written during his diplomatic tour of the Far East. This poetry is surrealistic and personal, inward-looking. In "Dream Horses" he writes

*What a day it has been. What a thick
light of milk,
compact, white fingered, favoring me.
I heard its red horse neighing
bare-backed, unshod, and radiant.
I ride him over churches.*

In 1934 Neruda was assigned as cultural attache in Madrid, Spain. In Spain he published a surrealist magazine, *Caballo Verde por la Poesia*. On July 19th, 1936, General Franco invaded the Republic from North Africa and the Spanish Civil War began. Neruda wrote *Espana en el Corazon* in support of the Republican side in the war. This poetry, later incorporated into *Tercera Residencia* (1947), marked a change to a more narrative political style. In "The Battle of

the Jarama River"—

*Between the earth and the platinum
of olive groves and dead Spaniards
Jarama, pure dagger, you have resisted
the wave of the cruel*

*There from Madrid, came
men with hearts gilded by gunpowder
like bread made of ash and resistance
they came here.*

From Spain Neruda went to Paris, where he and other surrealist poets helped raise funds for the Republican side. He served as Chilean consul in Mexico City during 1941 and 1942. In 1944 he returned to Chile, and was elected to the Chilean Senate from Antofagasta, the nitrate mining region. The following year Pablo Neruda joined the Chilean Communist Party. Several years later he described the reaction of the rulers of his country when he gave up love poetry and became involved in radical politics:

*When I was writing my love poems,
which sprouted out from me
everywhere, and I was dying from
depression,
nomadic, abandoned, gnawing the
alphabet,
they said to me: "What a great man
you are, Theocritus!"
I am not Theocritus: I took hold of life,
and faced her, and kissed her until I
subdued her,
and then I went through the tunnels
of the mines
to see how other men live.
And when I came out, my hands stained
with depression and garbage,
I held up my hands, and showed them
to the generals,
and said, "I do not take responsibility
for this crime."
They started to cough, became dis-
gusted, left off saying hello,
gave up calling me Theocritus, and
ended by insulting me
and assigning the entire police force to
arrest me,
because I did not continue to be
occupied exclusively with meta-
physical subjects.*

Commenting on his reception by his fellow citizens, Neruda said, "I come from a country that is very political. Those who fight have great support from the masses. We feel supported and understood by our own people."

"As poets we are really in touch with the people, which is very rare. I read my poems everywhere in my country—every village, every town—for years and years, and I feel it is my duty to do it."

After the right-wing takeover in 1948, Neruda was forced to flee Chile. He was hidden by workers and peasants for months, crossed the Andes on horseback, escaped into Mexico and returned to Paris in 1949. From there he went to Moscow, then back to Mexico,

where his first edition of *Canto General* was published in 1950.

Canto General is a long collection of 340 poems arranged in 15 sections dealing with the geological, biological, and political history of South America, with his own history and person, and a distressing picture of South American-U.S. relations. The *Canto* begins with a description of South America before the arrival of the Europeans. Two sections deal with the land, the jungle, and the people.

*And deep in the huge waters
the enormous anaconda lies
like the circle around the earth*

Next he discusses the arrival of the Europeans. Part four, the longest section, deals with the liberation of South America from the colonizers. Much of the book concerns the history and people of Chile. He writes about workers, shovellers, bargemen. He writes about U.S. policy toward South America.

*When the trumpet sounded, it was
all prepared on the earth,
and Jehovah parceled out the earth
to Coca-Cola, Inc., Anaconda,
Ford Motors and the other entities:
the Fruit Company, Inc.
reserved for itself the most succulent,
the central coast of my own land,
the delicate waist of America.*

Canto also includes sections on workers' struggles. Neruda involved himself in while a senator, friends who struggled against the right-wing and his own exile from Chile.

In the last section of the collection, entitled "I Am," he writes of himself, *Why ask more from me than from a workman?*

In 1950 Neruda shared the World Peace Prize with Picasso and Paul Robeson. Following the fall of the right-wing government, he returned to Chile in 1952. After 1953, the year in which he won the Stalin Prize, Neruda went to live on Isla Negra, a small island off the coast near Santiago.

Between the *Residencia* poems and *Canto General*, Neruda had changed his style from surrealism to narrative, historical and often very political poetry. But even in *Canto* he was still using the long hard lines that were so powerful in the earlier work.

In the middle '50s he began writing in short, singing lines of two or three words. More than 100 odes in this style are included in his *Odas Elementales* (1954).

*When I close a book
I open life.
I hear faltering cries
among the harbours.
Copper ingots
slide down sand-pits*

*to Tocopilla.
Night time.
Among the islands
our ocean
throbs with fish,
touches the feet, the thighs
the chalk ribs
of my country.*

In 1964 he published *Memorial de Isla Negra*, celebrating his home there.

*The ancient night and the unruly salt
beat at the walls of my house;
lonely is the shadow, the sky
by now is a beat of the ocean
and sky and shadow explode
in the fray of unequal combat.*

In 1966 Neruda went to New York to read his poetry for the first time in the United States. In discussing his own poetry at that time he said: "Many of the new world poets . . . don't open the windows, and you not only have to open the window but come through the windows and live with the rivers and animals and beasts. I would say to the young poets of my country . . . to discover things, to be in the sea, to be in the mountains, and approach every living thing. And how can you not love such an approach to life, that has such extravagant surprises?"

"You see there are in our countries rivers which have no names, trees which nobody knows, and birds which nobody has described. It is easier for us to be surrealistic because everything we know is new."

In 1971 Pablo Neruda won the Nobel Prize for Literature. Under the Allende government in Chile, he was his country's Ambassador to France. Neruda died on September 17, 1973, six days after the fascist military coup that overthrew the Allende government. His funeral was the occasion for thousands to demonstrate their opposition to the military regime. Workers and radical militants marched through the streets of Santiago singing communist songs. In his death, as in his life and in his poetry, he affirmed what he had written:

*So let no one worry when
I seem to be alone and am not alone,
I am with no one and I speak for all—*

*Someone is listening to me and although
they do not know it,
those I sing of, those who know,
go on being born and will fill up the
world.*

Two collections of Neruda's poems, in Spanish with facing English translations are available from New Directions Publishing, 333 Sixth Ave. New York 10014.

Residence on Earth, hard cover \$10, paper \$3.95.

The Captain's Verses, hard cover \$7.50, paper \$1.95.

IN THESE TIMES

Editorial

Afro-Americans and Full Employment

"The problem of the twentieth century," wrote W.E.B. DuBois at its outset, "is the problem of the color line." Like all good prophecies—and as DuBois later in his life affirmed—the truth of this one intersects with others. One of those is that the problem of the color line is also the problem of the property line—the problem of class and social systems. This is true in southern Africa and it is just as true in the U.S.

The great struggles of the 1960s established the full range of formal civil rights, from voting to public accommodations. Yet American society still denies non-whites equality of opportunity in income and employment, education and housing, health care and recreation—in short, in power and wealth.

Racial prejudice and racist practices play their inveterate role in perpetuating this inequality, but if they were to disappear tomorrow the inequality would not. The distinctions of class, the poverty of propertylessness, the power of capital that profits on cheap labor, unemployment, and inflated prices, would still be there. The very success of the civil rights movement has made it clear as never before that the property line is the key to the color line.

Leaders meeting.

The meeting of 15 black leaders in New York on August 29 testifies to the centrality of property to the condition of Afro-Americans and other minorities in the U.S. For it was the "economic" question—the question of jobs and all it implies—that brought such a broad range of black leaders together to forge a common program, for the first time since the 1960s.

As Vernon E. Jordan, Jr., president of the National Urban League and the meeting's host, declared, they all agreed that the solution to the dire situation of blacks must begin with a national full employment policy. "There was universal agreement on jobs . . . [as] the overriding issue of the 70s." Full employment, they recognize, is only the beginning. In calling for "a counterattack on the callous neglect of blacks, the poor and American cities," the leaders designated as their "consensus issues of critical concern" not only full employment, but also the allied matters of "rebuilding our cities, welfare reform, affirmative action, economic development and the rejuvenation of moral and social purpose in this nation."

The crystallization of this broad social program, for the relief and further progress of the black and other non-white people, brings the black leaders and all Americans face to face with the incapacities of the capitalist system of property and class domination. That system has never produced sustained full employment or balanced economic development. Nor have its political leaders, its business executives, or intellectual guardians proposed any program remotely promising it. Their end is to preserve capitalism ("Our Way of Life") whatever the necessary consequences, including chronic poverty, unemployment, ghettos and urban decay. The black leaders' end is presumably, the progress and welfare of their people through balanced economic development and full employment. Their end can not be achieved within capitalism.

The record.

The record of the 1960s and 1970s offers conclusive evidence in support of this formulation.

The 1960s gives us a test case of the most favorable conditions, within the



Vernon Jordan putting on his coat

for In These Times, Jan. 1977

capitalist framework, for black progress. It was a period of comprehensive civil rights legislation, of the longest uninterrupted economic expansion in modern American history, and of gains for Afro-Americans unprecedented in their long suffering experience. Yet by 1969-1970, the black unemployment rate was still two to three times that of whites, black teen-age unemployment stood at the official figure of 29 percent, black median family income was only 61 percent that of whites, blacks remained grossly overrepresented in the low-skill, low-paying jobs and underrepresented in the high-paying jobs, and their education, housing and health care remained far inferior to that of whites.

Such gains as were made came with the economic pump-priming of war, special government programs funded by an expansionary economy, and intense and bloody struggles.

Since 1969, even these modest gains have been reversed. In many significant areas blacks are worse off today than in 1964. Black median family income has dropped back from 61 to 58 percent of white, black unemployment is officially put at 14.5 percent, and realistically it is over 20 percent, black teen-age unemployment is officially put at over 40 percent (in New York City at 86 percent), black education and housing are deteriorating, and the situation is recognized by even the most "respectable" authorities as alarming. Blacks and other minorities are experiencing a catastrophic depression while the rest of the country is experiencing a "mild recovery."

The 1960s expansion ended in the 1970s "stagflation" of chronic high unemployment, rising prices, lower workers' real income, and cutbacks in essential government programs and social services. Modern up-to-date corporate capitalism is no more capable of sustained balanced economic development or continuous improvement in the living conditions of the working class than was the old-style laissez-faire capitalism. And it is just such sustained development and improvement that is indispensable to the well-being and progress of Afro-Americans.

When working people make gains in wages, income, and social services, as in the 1960s, capital gets sick. It restores it-

self to health, as in the 1970s, with budget-balancing, investment cutbacks, unemployment, and inflation—that is, with misery and sickness for the working class.

Carter's response to the black leaders' challenge is in character. His good intentions may be granted, but he is still the chief executive of corporate America. First he rebuked them for suggesting that he should keep his campaign promises. Then he met with the Congressional black caucus and repeated his campaign promise to them to make jobs his top priority. But he continues to tailor his employment and economic development planning to the dictates of the corporate investment system. That means a commitment to the old formula of stimulating the private (corporate) sector with public funds and tax breaks. Such a program cannot be expected to yield better or more lasting results than similar programs in the 1960s. It means leaving the initiative with the white corporate ruling class, and it means that Carter's promise now is no more to be relied upon than his promises during the campaign.

Can't do it alone.

But if the well-being of the black people, and their achievement of equality, requires erasing the capitalist property line, the black leaders, even those who privately understand this, are not saying so in public. They cannot be blamed. Some of them represent black bourgeois interests and wish to preserve capitalism. Others, perhaps the majority, remember what happened to Malcolm X, Martin Luther King and other black leaders in the 1960s when they began to articulate a working class oriented challenge to the capitalist status quo.

They know, also, that a program of social investment with working people and their representatives in control of the economy, would challenge capitalist power and require a powerful political coalition of whites and blacks consciously moving together in that direction. We may presume that many black leaders are watching and waiting for such a popular movement among whites to become discernible. In the meantime, however, they will bargain as best they can with the corporate power structure,

including the President, for whatever gains they can get.

The white working class has also been hit hard, if less devastatingly, by "stagflation." The labor movement is now calling for full employment planning and its leaders know it needs allies among blacks, other minorities, women and the poor. (See *ITT*, Editorial, Aug. 31.) George Meany himself lost little time in identifying the AFL-CIO, in his Labor Day message, with the black leaders' criticism of Carter and with their full employment and urban development demands.

More significantly, younger labor leaders like Murray Finley of the Clothing and Textile Workers, Douglas Fraser of the UAW, William Winpisinger of the Machinists, and Jerry Wurf of the public employees, have associated themselves with the Democratic Agenda of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee calling for social planning for full employment. A labor-black coalition is in the making, and it can rally to itself the support of movements among other minorities, women, youth, and progressive intellectuals, technicians and professionals.

But while such a coalition is still only on the horizon, black leaders and rank-and-file will continue with good reason to play it cautiously. They have been sold out and pawned off in the past, and before they put themselves out on an anti-capitalist limb they will want solid assurance that their prospective allies will prove constant in the battle for an equalitarian society.

The best service socialists can now render to their black compatriots is to join in the building of a full employment movement among the American working people, consciously oriented to replacing the capitalist with a socialist investment and property system. That would give the black movements the viable allies on the left that they so compellingly need.

In the final analysis, there can be no sustained progress and well-being for the white people of America without the sustained progress and well-being of the black people, and there can be no solution to the problem of the color line without the solution to the problem of the property line.

Letters

Otherwise-wise, thanks

Editor:

First, I would like to pay my long overdue respects to you for publishing a superb paper—content-wise, interest-wise, and literary-style-wise. I now read *ITT* cover-to-cover and find I depend on it for knowing "what is happening and an attempt at understanding why it is happening."

What finally prompted me to write this letter was the realization that this is the only newspaper in which I have ever read the sports articles! Your sports articles have finally given "sports" some meaning to me in relation to the rest of the activities coming down around me.

Thank you again for providing such high quality information on all subjects.

—Debra Asher
Oakland, Calif.

People vs. Politics

Editor:

Perhaps Ron Kovic's book "is not a useful book in terms of learning how political consciousness is shaped or changed," as Ms. Linden points out, but it does remind us of human tragedy.

People, after all, make up society. In my opinion people come before politics.

—C.S. Poirier
Dekalb, Ill.

Fewer, but better

Editor:

Michael Stone's remarks on the subject of abortion betray his antisecularism as well as his sexism, and his callousness to the plight of women maimed or killed by dangerous back-alley abortions, his hatred and contempt for women.

True socialists correctly perceive the antichoice movement as reactionary and sexist to the core and they recognize the right of every woman to free safe legal abortion on demand. In answer to Tom Lehman's remarks that most workingclass women he knows oppose abortion: socialist revolution is brought about by educating the masses, not by pandering to their backwardness. Antiabortion laws degrade and oppress women and are based on myths generated in a capitalist society. Opposition to abortion rights stems not from concern for human life but from superstition, mysticism, obscurantism and mysogyny all of which are directly contrary to socialism. Karl Marx warned of fake socialism in the Communist Manifesto. Many secularists and feminists today, who could otherwise probably be won over to socialism, are opposed to it because they mistake the fake socialism of the Tom Lehman and Michael Stones as the real thing. One thing is clear: Michael Stone and Tom Lehman are not really socialists. To this very day we socialists are hindered in our efforts to achieve socialist revolution by those who claim to be socialists but who in fact are not.

—Karen Moskowitz

A sleight error

Editor:

Your editorial on the Panama Canal treaty (*ITT*, Aug. 24) while hard-hitting and accurate, was nevertheless incomplete. The statement, "The pending agreement with Panama is designed to preserve the substance of American imperial power while giving up the annexationist form," warrants further attention,

as does the discussion of the debate between the Reagan-types and the "liberals" over the treaty's merits.

The Panama Canal issue fits almost stereotypically the pattern called for by advocates of the Yankee/Trader vs. Cowboy/Prussian dichotomy of American power. The Carter administration, heavily laden with the non-ideological internationally-oriented tenets of the Trilateral Commission, negotiated a treaty that accomplishes three major goals: (1) assuages displeasure towards the U.S. by many Panamanians and other Latin Americans, (2) endears Carter to American and world liberals, and (3) yields ownership of the Canal without significantly altering the power relationship.

While many applaud this sleight-of-hand, those of the Committee for the Present Danger school, who are generally more ideologically anti-communist and more nationalistic than the Trilateral blokes, oppose the treaty as a hand-out and sign of weakness.

Trilateralism heralds the institutionalization of 1984 Double-speak.

Saul A. Rigberg
Amherst, Mass.

Lynch responds to critics

Editor:

I would like to respond briefly to the two letters regarding my column on the growth of the right (*ITT*, Sept. 7). First, Ken Ratner. His letter raises some excellent questions. However, I'd like to urge him to try to explore them seriously in 1,200 words or less. Because of the space restrictions, I was not writing an in-depth piece on the nature of the right or a strategy for countering it. Rather, I was trying to indicate a problem that requires more analysis and thought that it has so far received within the left. I don't think that my tone was alarmist, nor did I imply that we are on the verge of fascism—or anything close. Also, I did note that many who participate in movements influenced by the right are not themselves ideological right-wingers. In previous columns I have tried to suggest how issues like anti-abortion or anti-crime can attract people who have basically decent political instincts to movements that are used by the right.

On Claire Ferguson. I can only say that if all the people who have such profound understanding of "why the American left is in such disarray" would become active in trying to build socialist organization along the lines that they think would be more productive, either the world would become a much better place or at least they would begin to take up less space pontificating in letters to the editor.

—Roberta Lynch
Chicago

Help stop the neutron bomb

Editor:

Readers of *ITT* who have been appalled by the news of the neutron bomb should know there is a chance to stop it. Rep. Ted Weiss (D-N.Y.) has offered an amendment to HR 6566, the ERDA National Security Authorization Bill, deleting all funds for this horrific and destabilizing weapon. Quick letters to members of Congress are called for, since the House will vote on the Weiss Amendment during the week of September 19. Until there is a way to abolish all the atrocious weapons, we have to fight them one at a time.

—Todd Glin
San Francisco, Calif.

One Struggle, Many Parts

Editor:

Hans Koning (*ITT*, Aug. 24) would have us diminish our concern for Soviet dissidents because there is hypocrisy among liberal critics of the U.S.S.R. and because questions of hunger and unemployment must precede questions of free speech and expression. I don't agree.

The fight for the good society has many parts. The Sloop Clearwater,

sailing the Hudson River, gay people marching, farmworkers organizing are all part of that struggle. When walls come tumbling down the sound travels and gives hope to others. Echoes bounce off Kremlin walls as well as tenements in Harlem. Long may they bounce.

—Irwin H. Rosenthal
Ellenville, N.Y.

It's still the same old story

Editor:

David Moberg's account of the NAM convention (*ITT*, Aug. 24) states that NAM "... organized a national conference of women who share their 'socialist feminist' view of women's liberation..." This is untrue on several counts.

1) NAM did *not* organize the Socialist/Feminist Conference in Yellow Springs, Ohio in July of 1975. It was organized by nine S/F groups from across the country. I, as one representative of the Lexington S/F Union, was a member of the Planning Committee for the conference. There were NAM women among the Planning Committee members but only one of the nine planning groups (the C.P. Gilman Chapter) represented NAM.

2) The conference never wanted to be for women who shared NAM politics. The conference was organized under principles of unity developed by the Planning Committee.

3) It was not a women's liberation conference although socialist/feminism (why the quotes around "socialist feminist"?), of course, encompasses women's liberation.

Now, I am curious about all the other "facts" in Moberg's article. What price truth and what price principles?

I was one of those very early members of NAM. One of the reasons I resigned my membership was a recurring pattern of puffed up claims that had very little substance. That was my perception at that time and from this article I conclude it's the same old NAM.

I am not a separatist, but, thanks, Holly Near, for speaking to lesbian separatist politics at the NAM convention. What the hell else could you have done?

—Mary Dunn
Sadleville, Ky.

Grow, or stay on the spot

Editor:

David Moberg's report of the NAM convention (*ITT*, Aug. 24) presents NAM as a stumbling, bumbling group, and not a serious political organization. Perhaps that is correct, but it's not a critique that tells readers what is worthy and what is lacking in NAM.

NAM was created by a residue of people from SDS, who did not consider their former activity just "radical chic." Though I belong to an older generation, I was at the beginning of NAM. I still think that the effort deserves support and that it may help to fill the socialist vacuum in the U.S.

From the first, NAM set out to find ways to present the need for socialism to the people of the U.S. It rejected, to quote Moberg, the "authoritarian image of bureaucratic socialism" developed in other countries.

Unfortunately, in rejecting the rigid, bureaucratic brand of socialism, NAM also rejected the need to generalize from existing conditions and to project a vision and goal of socialism.

After five years, NAM is still a shell without national policy. An outsider looking in has great difficulty deciding what it is. One has to be inside to ap-

Editor's note: Please try to keep letters under 250 words in length. Otherwise we have to make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, if possible, please type and double-space letters—or at least write clearly and with wide margins.

preciate the extent of political growth.

NAM originally reviled electoral politics, as Moberg mentions. Now, some chapters are involved in electoral politics, while others view such activities with horror. NAM still has no national policy on the kind of socialism suitable to the U.S. Some NAM members use rhetoric that chimes with the sector-

ian or traditional groups. NAM is on both sides of this issue. NAM has established itself in a number of cities as speaking for the left. It is so recognized by the media, but NAM shuns the role of speaking for socialism. It is developing a sort of "Communitism," deplorable as "Syndicalism," as a general theory.

—Leon Blum
Plantation, Fla.

A socialist perspective

Editor:

A friend passed on a copy of the paper to point out an article by Herbert Kohl. I enjoyed it and the other pieces in the paper. Since then I have bought it weekly and now find myself looking forward to every issue. The paper again reminded me of my need to view the world's happenings through a socialist perspective. I appreciate the openness of the paper. Often I have been turned away from some socialist papers because of the dogmatism. Keep up your efforts!

—Joe Famiglietti
Seattle, Wash.

Correction

Our apologies to Philip Michael Walker, whose photo of the Nazi rally in Milwaukee on page 4 of last week's issue, was not credited.

DIALOG

Socialism cannot be separated from the major issues of the day, or from the existing arenas of popular struggle, says Max Gordon

The Kinoy-ITT dialogue suggests the value of a paper that affords the badly-needed opportunity for open debate on the issues involved in the development of a viable socialist movement.

But both the Kinoy and ITT positions are open to criticism. Both base their outlooks not on an assessment of material realities, including the level of working class social consciousness, but on subjective desire. Both appear to rely on exhortation, or agitation, as the primary means of influencing consciousness, thereby failing to make the organic connection between the development of a third party or a socialist movement and mass struggle on the issues. Thus, both overlook the essence of all Marxian socialist organi-

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M. Ron Karenga

Chinese theory and practice on the nationalities question



The Independent Black Schools tour went to the People's Republic of China as nationalists and socialists, as alternative and activist educators committed to deepening and expanding the cultural struggle we launched in the '60s. Our tour was the first of its kind, both in terms of its conception and planning and its all-black composition. However, the independent character and nationalist composition of the tour apparently disturbed a few American leftists and attempts were made to prevent the trip. The attempts failed; the Chinese granted us visas and cut our inland cost by half.

Our group was composed of 20 educators whose primary interest and work from pre-school to university instruction is alternative education as a fundamental part of political struggle. We went to China not as tourists or worshippers of distant revolutions, but as committed partisans of our own struggle. We were and remain deeply impressed by the Chinese struggle, respectful of it yet profoundly involved in our own.

It is, however, difficult not to be overwhelmed by China. The Long March and Liberation; the barefoot doctors and backyard furnaces; the Cultural Revolution and no flies, dogs or police in the streets; the sheer number, self-consciousness and fierce self-reliance of the Chinese people are all images that evoke respect, sometimes awe. But for us, as members of an oppressed nationality and partisans of a national liberation struggle, perhaps the most impressive achievement was the Chinese handling of the nationalities question.

The Chinese approach to the nationalities question hinges in theory on Chairman Mao's contention that the national question is essentially a class question but depends in practice on the concrete problems that evolve from specific class and national conditions of China. The nationalities question is conditioned not only by the assessment of China's class conditions by the dominant party group but also by national and international conditions. The term "dominant party group" is used to demonstrate the non-monolithic character of the CCP, and to

underline the continuous internal struggles and exchange the CCP conducts to establish and maintain a line, not only on national policy but also on the nationalities question.

In the years just after the Revolution, between 1949-1955, greater self-determination was allowed nationalities than in subsequent periods, such as the Great Leap Forward and the Cultural Revolution. This included exemptions and special privileges, united-front cooperation with the "upper strata" of the nationalities and meticulous respect for their customs. Such latitude was conditioned by: 1) the strong desire to demonstrate a marked distinction between CCP and Kuomintang policies; 2) lack of knowledge of the conditions and culture of the nationalities areas; 3) inadequate number of nationality cadres; and 4) geopolitical considerations of border nationalities and the migrations, revolts and foreign intervention that ill-conceived policies might provoke.

On the other hand, during the Great Leap Forward and especially, the Cultural Revolution, class assessment by the dominant party group pointed toward the need for change, and conditions seemed to favor it. Thus, the party stressed class struggle, an end to cooperation with the "upper strata" of various nationalities and more reliance on now-trained minority cadres, abolition of special privileges and hastened socioeconomic advancement. During these periods, the nationalities policy, at points, tended to resemble *t'ung-hua* (assimilation or forced merger) rather than *jung-ho* (integration or unforced merger), which is the stated goal of Chinese society. This reflects the dialectical character of nationalities policies in this stage of history and the fact that in the final analysis, the dominant nationality is dominant and thus, possesses the power to impose. And how this power is used depends not only on the ideology and policy of the dominant nationality, but also on the relative power of the other nationalities to share decision-making and to challenge and check negative practices.

The nationalities policy now seems to

be an attempt at a synthesis between the latitude of the early years and the haste and excesses of the Cultural Revolution. It includes, among other things: 1) regional, prefectural and county autonomy (nationality forms of socialist government); 2) cadre recruitment and training to enhance indigenous leadership and facilitate participation in the central government and CCP; 3) mass social mobilization to increase social consciousness and participation; 4) conscientious efforts to raise the economic and technological levels of nationality areas; 5) preferential treatment in providing funds, education, health care and material and human resources to nationalities to speed up overall development; 6) exemptions from many provisions of national policy such as birth control; and 7) constant reassessment of existing policies.

The Chinese approach to the nationality question can also be judged by their treatment of other Third World nations. It is a relatively safe assumption that the domestic policy of a large country toward its minorities is a reliable indication of its view of an approach to small nations and nationalities.

As members of an oppressed nationality, among the first things we look for in other peoples and countries are racial discrimination and police practices that support and insure it. In China, we experienced neither. On the contrary, in the streets, fields, homes and public places, we were the center of warm curiosity, never contempt.

My wife's nose-ring and bushy natural and other sisters' and brothers' African dress were points of friendly interest, never derision or disdain. Our presentations on the character of the Afro-American liberation struggle at Nanking University, Peking Teachers' University, Kiangsu May Seventh Cadre School and the Central Institute for Nationalities were received with interest and appreciation and were followed by lively small group sessions with numerous questions.

Moreover, when we told our host we preferred to be called Afro-Americans rather than simply Americans, black or

African rather than negro, and that we preferred political discussions on China's policy in Africa and other vital subjects to visits to historical sites, we received only friendly accommodation. African and other Third World students report the same friendly accommodation.

Finally, when we argued the dual character of our oppression, i.e., racial and class, the Chinese did not deny the racial factor, only stressed that in the final analysis, class was determinative.

This is not to suggest that China has no as they term it, "contradictions and shortcomings," concerning nationalities. But it does mean that in comparison with the nationality and racial policies and practices of other multinational states, China is clearly and significantly ahead. The nationalities question is not easily or immediately solved. Even if it is a class question in the final analysis, the road to its resolution is complicated with contradictions.

Some of the questions still to be answered in practice as well as theory by China and other socialists striving to solve the nationalities problem are: 1) what concrete safeguards are there for minority nationalities against the negative practices of a party group such as those attributed to the "Gang of Four" or those of a whole party dominated by the majority nationality; 2) how can a minority nationality's desire to maintain cultural distinctiveness be harmonized non-coercively with the push for a common socialist culture; 3) is it the state (an essentially oppressive apparatus) or the nation (a form of community and kinship) that should wither away, and; 5) is real internationalism a monolithic world culture or multinationalism, a non-antagonistic, richly diverse and self-conscious humanity? These questions and how they are eventually answered will determine the course and content of the multinational society.

M. Ron Karenga is an adjunct professor of social change at U.S. International University. He recently returned from a three-week trip to the Peoples Republic of China where he spoke on the Afro-American Liberation Struggle.

DIALOG

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zation, initially defined in the *Communist Manifesto* and confirmed by repeated world experience, that it is "in the movements of the present"—the fight for "the immediate and momentary interests of the working class"—that the "movement's future" is represented.

For particulars, Kinoy cites the late Jim Matles as saying that working people need a mass party of their own. Undoubtedly Matles—like other militant, left trade union leaders—always believed workers should have their own party. The question has always been how to achieve it so that it is in fact a working class party, not a sect speaking in the name of the masses. It is not accomplished by a subjective power of the will, by abstract agitation, by Kinoy's "saying to them daily" that they must leave the Democratic Party. Matles is quoted (*ITT*, Aug. 17) as saying at the 1975 UE convention that if the CIO "was not wrecked by the corporations and their flunkies in Congress, and if the labor leadership had not caved . . . by this

time we would have a labor party in America." Plainly, for Matles, formation of a labor party depended on the labor movement. When large sections of the nation's workers and minorities conclude from their struggles that they need a labor party, one will emerge. Socialists can advance the process only through effective participation and leadership in these struggles.

Kinoy refers to the "disastrous mistakes" of the 1930s and 1940s when, presumably, no break with the two-party system was attempted by the left. The reference is obscure. The left entered into coalition politics in 1936. Early that year an effort to organize a national farmer-labor party was initiated by the Minnesota FLP and its governor, Floyd Olson, with substantial left support. It was abandoned because everyone realized that the great mass of workers, employed and unemployed, and of farmers was committed to Roosevelt and the New Deal. A national third party would have suffered probably even worse disaster than the Socialist Party that year; the SP lost more than 80 percent of its 1932

vote because it opposed Roosevelt. It was thenceforth destroyed as a political force in America.

How Matles, a representative left unionist, viewed the New Deal is amply recorded in his book, *Them and Us*. As example, he observed that the New Deal and the industrial unions it had helped to foster "achieved a series of remarkable economic and political improvements in the lives of the working people." When a third party was organized in 1948, Matles described its program as calling "for a return to the progressive domestic and foreign policies of Franklin Roosevelt." Surely, then, Kinoy cannot believe that Matles would have supported a break with the Democrats in 1936.

In 1940, the left was isolated as a result of the Communist Party's reaction to the Nazi-Soviet pact, and in 1944—in the midst of war—no third party against Roosevelt was conceivable. In 1948 and '52 there was a third party, with known results. By 1952 leaders of such left unions as Matles' and Kinoy's UE, fighting to avoid isolation from their memberships and from other unions under the assaults of McCarthyism, realized that they were furthering their isolation by backing the Progressive Party. Their electoral tactic was incompatible with tactics they were pursuing in other arenas to avoid decimation and extinction. By 1956 the left was in such disarray, for

reasons irrelevant here, that there was no question of a third party.

The experience suggests the weakness in Kinoy's position. He proposes to fight "in every arena of struggle" including the electoral. But unless the struggle he envisions is carried out in isolation from the mass, he is in fact proposing to conduct it in the various arenas except the electoral. The militant battles for unemployment insurance and relief, for the right to organize, for minimum wages, etc. in the '30s necessarily required passage of laws by Congress and local legislatures. How, then, could these battles not have been carried to the major parties by those who were waging them? Refusal to do this on doctrinaire grounds would have split the struggle, isolating the left and destroying its leadership. Elections are one form of struggle and cannot be insulated from other forms. If those involved see the Democratic Party as an instrument for advancing the goal—as, for instance, the election of congressmen dedicated to ending the Vietnam War—to take Kinoy's rigid position is to abdicate leadership. In the case of the war Kinoy, in effect, would have subordinated the Vietnamese liberation struggle to his rigid taboo concerning the Democratic Party.

Just as Kinoy isolates the two-party system from other capitalist institu-

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Barbara Ehrenreich

China and the American left: Their latest move proves indifference

I was at the New American Movement convention when a friend showed me the latest issue of *Peking Review*. There, under the headlines, "Chairman Hua Meets Delegation of Central Committee of U.S. Communist Party (M-L)," was a picture of Hua Kuo-Feng chatting with Mike Klonsky, the Chairman of the miniscule U.S. Communist Party (M-L). Hua is the Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, with a following of approximately 900 million.

The picture gave me a feeling of disorientation that you might get seeing a newspaper with a gag headline—"N.A.M. Sweeps Elections in Upset: Carter Resigns"—or something like that. I know who Klonsky is. He was the national secretary of S.D.S. in 1968-69, and founder of the October League (recently re-named the U.S. Communist Party (M-L)), a sectarian group distinguished by its religious adherence to the Chinese line on foreign policy.

But how many other Americans would recognize the name "Mike Klonsky"? Hua, on the other hand, must be one of the best known living men in the world, if only because he heads up a nation that accounts for a fourth or more of the earth's population. As if to emphasize the disproportion, someone quipped over my shoulder, "Who's that guy sitting next to Mike Klonsky?"

It gets worse. The article that accompanies the picture tells us that at the banquet honoring the U.S.C.P.(M-L) delegation, a member of the Chinese politburo gave a speech in which he declared: "The founding of the Communist Party (M-L) of the United States has reflected the aspirations of the proletariat and other working people of the United States and is a new victory for the Marxist-Leninist movement in the United States."

Now, frankly, although I am a great admirer of China, I would have an awfully hard time explaining this to the

Now almost no one wants to talk about China. To judge from left periodicals, Eurocommunism is in, China is out.

average group of American proletarians and other working people. Could it be that the Chinese were taken in by Klonsky's claims and actually believe that the U.S.C.P.(M-L) is a large and significant political force here? Unlikely. *Someone* in Peking must read everything from the *Christian Science Monitor* to the *Guardian* and *ITT*, and that someone must be able to give Hua a pretty accurate description of the state of the American left.

Or could it be self-deception—that the Chinese leadership would like to think that there is a major Marxist-Leninist party in the United States and that it just happens to be the party that is most faithful to their line on foreign policy? Any group of men who could have devised the recent charges against the "Gang of Four"—that Chiang Ching was an "ultra-rightist" who "tormented" her husband Mao on his deathbed, and that Chang Chun-chiao (a brilliant theoretical leader under Mao) is a "Kuomintang special agent"—must be capable of considerable self-deception. As we Americans learned in the past few years, men who occupy high offices can come to believe almost anything they want to.

There is a more plausible, but unfortunately, more cynical, explanation. And that is that Hua knows perfectly well what the U.S.C.P.(M-L) represents and what it does not. He singled out this tiny group simply as a *gesture* (and considering that he singled it out *in person* this must be taken as a very firm gesture.) The meaning of this gesture, as I read it, is that the current leadership of

China is not interested in supporting, or even acknowledging the existence of, any insurgent group that is not willing to offer absolutely uncritical and sycophantic support of Chinese foreign policy. In the past few years that foreign policy has included making friendly overtures to dictators like Suharto and Marcos (not to mention known criminals like Nixon), recognizing the Chilean junta with unconscionable speed, and supporting a pro-imperialist guerilla faction in Angola.

But Hua's gesture was not really necessary. The single-mindedness, and I must say, arrogance, of Chinese foreign policy—whether in relation to nations or insurgencies—has been pretty well recognized by the American left. It's something no one much likes to talk about. In the last year or so, a kind of embarrassed silence has settled over the whole subject of China.

Just a few years earlier, you couldn't go to any left conference, bookstore, study group or potluck supper without running into the subject of China: women in China, agriculture in China, health care in China, etc. etc. A three week tour in 1974 turned me into a hardcore China enthusiast. When I came back I looked for every opportunity to talk to people about China—the incredible material advances, the dedication of the people, the democratic upsurge represented by the Cultural Revolution and succeeding political campaigns. Whatever else I was talking about, I managed to bring up China: It seemed to be the most concrete and inspiring way to talk about socialism.



But gradually it got harder to talk about China. Somehow the achievements of the barefoot doctors would stick in my throat when I thought about Chile or, later, Angola. Then there were the internal developments since Mao's death: The bizarre (and often sexist) charges against the "Gang of Four" . . . Praise in the capitalist press for the new "pragmatism," which looks suspiciously like the top-down, Soviet approach to development . . . And, just last week, the formation of a new politburo that contains no representatives of mass women's, workers' or peasants' groups—but plenty of elderly men who were on the wrong side in the Cultural Revolution. . . By now, almost no one seems to want to talk about China. To judge from the left periodicals, Eurocommunism is in; China is out.

Perhaps it's just as well that we remain silent about China for awhile. There's too much we don't understand yet. And there's too much that—given our own ingrained and unconscious assumptions of affluence and national supremacy—that we probably *can't* understand.

But I hope that this awkward silence doesn't last too much longer. Pretty soon we need to get back to discussing, studying and—yes—*learning* from China. Not because China or any other country is a "model" for socialism here. And certainly not because our evaluation of China matters to the Chinese (Hua's gesture, if not the sheer arithmetic of the situation, should make that clear.) But because the achievements and theoretical contributions of the Chinese are a vital part of our heritage as socialists. Whatever sinister directions Chinese foreign policy may take, or repressive internal developments may occur, cannot erase the enormous historic significance of the Chinese liberation struggle, the Cultural Revolution, the political philosophy of Mao Tsetung. These things belong to the world.

DIALOG

Continued from previous page

tions within which workers and others conduct economic and social struggles, so do the *ITT* editors tend to isolate the movement for socialism from these struggles. As Editor James Weinstein has indicated elsewhere, he seems to have concluded from a one-sided interpretation of the 1930s experience that agitation for socialism is paramount in developing a socialist movement, rather than socialist participation and leadership in the struggle for current needs. This attitude tends at times to influence *ITT* editorials, giving them a "pie in the sky" tone. The legendary *Appeal to Reason*, which Weinstein properly admires, was a crusader for the immediate programs for which the people were battling before World War I, as well as for socialism, and workers and farmers identified with it for that reason.

The *ITT* response to Kinoy speaks of "abandonment" by the left in earlier decades of "a concept of socialism appropriate to American society." The left, meaning the communists, was deficient in developing such a concept of socialism. But it did agitate for socialism on the basis of the Soviet experience. The issue involved goes beyond this. I have referred to the 1936 collapse of the SP, which engaged in "socialist politics" while ignoring the

actual arena of working class struggles at the time. The Communists—to cite a distinctly anti-communist, Trotskyist source—by their dedication and "popular front" policy, penetrated deeply into the new union movement, "radicalized hundreds of thousands," and great numbers became communists or moved within the party's orbit. No one doubted the communists were for socialism, and the many who joined or were influenced by them became socialist-minded by that very fact. The essential point here is that the communists, by their leadership in united front struggles of the working class, established their credibility as working class leaders and by that process brought vastly more people to socialist consciousness than the socialists with their "socialist politics." Undoubtedly, the communists could have done better with a socialist concept "appropriate to American society," but one does not reject a highly effective tactic because of weaknesses in execution.

I would suggest that *ITT* lacks the editorial orientation, hence the crusading spirit on behalf of the issues confronting the people today, which can make it an effective and necessary spokesman of the left—of forward-looking unionists, blacks, Hispanics, women who can identify with the paper, thereby providing a receptive audience for its socialist message. Its future success, fervently to be hoped for, may depend substantially on its ability to overcome the flaw.

—Max Gordon
New York, N. Y.

Popular but not socialist is no better than socialist but not popular, the editor replies

Editor's reply: It is true that many people joined the Communist party in the 1930s and 1940s because of its militant activity on many fronts, and also that many others joined because the party was the official representative of the Soviet Union until 1941, when the Third International was dissolved, and the Soviets were still an inspiration to most serious socialists. There were, however, some people who did not believe that the Communists represented socialism—or, rather that the socialism the Communists were for was not actually socialism or was not appropriate for the U.S.

Gordon's "essential point" seems incorrect to us. Certainly many Communists established their credibility as working class leaders in the 1930s. But they did not, with rare exceptions,

do so as Communists, much less as socialists. When these people were later accused of being Communists the workers generally turned against them, and many of the Communists themselves reacted to the accusations as "slander." This is true of Matles himself, and it indicates an embarrassment about public identification with some of the party's principles.

Furthermore, the Communists lost a majority of the tens of thousands of workers that they recruited each year precisely because their conception of socialism was so inappropriate to American political culture and society that it drove away most of those closest to it.

We do not rely on socialist exhortation as the "primary means of influencing consciousness," because we do not believe in the separation of education and agitation for socialism from activity around issues confronting working people. But because we do not believe in such a separation, we must believe that a socialist politics and socialist principles that are appropriate to American society, to our own political culture and democratic tradition and unrealized ideals, is an indispensable part of a potentially successful socialist politics. Without such politics and principles no popular movement for socialism is possible. The Communist party did not have such politics or principles in the 1930s, and it did not create a popular movement for socialism, either on a local level or nationally.

SDS reunion Lions and Lambs

Continued from page 24

but not nearly the last, were evident around the room. One sensed that a purgative process had washed the meeting.

From then on everything was possible; unity could be constructed. The problems caused by this or that error by members of the organizing committee seemed to disappear as the group took hold of the possibilities the committee had created.

Helen Garvey, a former SDS staff member and a member of the organizing committee, and Ken McEldowney, another, took care to calm (or try to) ruffled feathers. Barbara Haber insisted that women's concerns be kept up front. Terry Roberts also on the committee turned out to be an unsung but excellent group leader. Jane Addams, once a national secretary, proved to have a contagious sense of humor.

As the week progressed themes of consensus and division clarified: yes, we had had no proper definition of structure or leadership, so we devoured both, deserting a reasonable notion of democracy in the process. Yes, we had burned each other up too much, and should have conserved energy for longer hauls. (Former SDS President Todd Gitlin's late '60s poem has it: we need to be "long distance runners on sandy soil in the thinnest air.") Yes, we had never solved the paradox of being middle strata socialists unaffiliated with a working class movement.

And there were continuing differences: the larger or smaller differences among those who worked within the vision of marxism, and those who think of that tradition as too limited. Tom Hayden spoke of his appreciation of religion, and heads nodded sympathetically. There were differences between those

oriented to small community projects and those who thought in national terms. And there were still, despite the gladness of the meeting, those who do the day-to-day heroic work of the movement as organizers and rank and filers who remained all too quiet, and not recognized for their valor: Jeff Segal, returned from 27 months in prison for draft resistance; Jenny Roper, still organizing in poor communities in New Jersey after a dozen years; Steve Johnson, a cab driver and organizer.

Remembering the fallen.

In the middle of the week Alan Haber, who originally conceived of SDS, and who had helped organize the meeting, once more proved prophetic. He announced an evening memorial for dead friends and comrades. Those of us, respectful of Alan, but out of tune with his recent mysticism (can two Ginsbergs happen twice at the same time?) came apprehensive that we might feel awkward or embarrassed, trapped in a mad drama.

Participants had been asked, the day before, to set down the names of those to be remembered. Geri Tree played vibraphone and cymbal while Haber called "Remember . . ." and said each name. People would speak a line about each fallen comrade.

Gold, Oughton, Robbins in the Weatherman Town House; Goodman, Chaney, Schwerner, in Mississippi; Kent State; Jackson State; Ralph Featherstone, blown up in his car during Rap Brown's trial; Phil Ochs, by his own hand—one of Phil's songs was sung by a comrade from Oklahoma, Jody Bate-man.

Now everyone crying; holding on to each other. The list goes on: King, Mal-

colm, A.J., Norman Morrison, Alice Hertz who burned themselves that the War in Vietnam might end. More suicides of former comrades; more beatings and torture of prisoners known to us; gay men attacked on dark streets; Native Americans shot down on their own land; my grandmother, remembered for her support while the movement was under attack. More names coming faster now; Haber having trouble, couldn't end it.

Then, reeling from the sudden realization of the death and carnage, of the cost in life and soul of a decade so glibly romanticized, we needed a way out. Mickey Flacks, now an activist in Santa Barbara, forcefully cutting through the turmoil: "We should say the names of our children." And the names were said, with tears, hope, commitment: Berry, Brook, and Blossom; Charles Wright and A.J.; Gabriel and Rachel; Lucero; Tony and Carlos, and more. We link arms and sing. Corny, a little afraid, everyone hugging and crying, "We Shall Overcome." A decade laid to rest only now, years later, with the respect its martyrs merit.

One participant called it "voodoo and love tyranny." At the end of the conference, in another ceremony invented by Geri Tree and Jerry Badanes, folk stepped from a hand-holding circle into the center and one by one said where they were coming from and where they were headed. Done by candlelight, the imagery of religious gatherings came naturally to mind. As a group we went out to see a full moon.

Love and conflict.

This is pretty heady stuff for serious people in their mid and late 30s: community organizers, therapists, professors, journalists, doctors, lawyers. There were

moments when we all thought the atmosphere was "unreal." But is the discovery of meaning in one's own history unreal; is the recognition, finally, of the beauty of another comrade such a frill? Don't we need ritual to embody those real aspirations that, day to day, we can barely stand to speak, for they hurt so much by their lack of fulfillment. Don't we want to build not just a structure of justice, but also one of love?

One morning I spoke with Greg Calvert, a former SDS officer who had succeeded my founding cohorts. We had been antagonists. We learned how we had assumed the others' views by the company we had kept. We had been ignorant of each others' so-called "politics."

It may be realistic to say that conflict and battle over "principle" are necessary to the socialist movement, but it is folly to assume that all of the blood-letting on the left is necessary. The meeting in Michigan was about finding that dimension of politics that is built on both necessary love and necessary conflict.

There can't be a new New Left. But the Conference ended with some concrete resolve: a group of members will begin legal action to discover the extent of harassment and surveillance over SDS, and to see if the group has grounds to sue. The conference participants will keep in touch through mimeographed correspondence. Already, on their own, pairs and groups of people had arranged to be in touch about this and that.

Whatever the fate of this particular aggregation, the rest of us now know this: it is possible for serious politicians to come back together; for female grievance and gay wounds to be bound; for leaders to rejoin the community; for marxists to talk to their idealist former comrades.

In knowing that, and in knowing that the way it was accomplished was by making room for profound though not often honored emotional needs, we know enough to begin again.

Bring on the factions and theories: if our unity is deep, our fights will strengthen not divide us.

Bob Ross joined what was to become SDS in 1960 and remained a member till the final days. He served as national vice president in 1962 and occupied a leadership role for many years. He now teaches sociology at Clark University.

The future belongs to those who work for it

There are some people in this country working very hard these days. They are the corporate elite who run GM, ITT, EXXON, and much more. They have a lot to do just keeping their own profit margins up. But they don't rest with record profits. They work a lot of overtime for even bigger stakes—the future of capitalism. Through groups like the Business Roundtable and the Trilateral Commission, they are making plans to insure the continued stability of the capitalist system in the face of changing conditions.

Many of us at the grass roots are also working hard. We're working for racial and sexual equality, better housing, decent health care, and other improvements in our lives. But what about **our** future? If we really want to get at the root of our country's problems, then we too need a longer-range vision. As the corporate elite makes plans to preserve capitalism, we need to make plans to end it.

The **New American Movement** is a socialist organization that works for a better life in the present and a better world in the future. We're organizing on issues like energy, unemployment, affirmative action, job safety, and foreign policy. And we're developing a democratic socialist perspective that can offer a real alternative to the corporate plan for America.

We are an organization that seeks to build on tradition without being bound by dogma. To develop a

coherent political approach without relying on imposed discipline. To build an active and involved membership, as well as a strong leadership. And we see ourselves as part of an international community of all those struggling for freedom around the world.

We're still a young and small organization—with a long way to grow. But we believe that we can make a difference. And that you can too! Join us—as part of a chapter, as an active member, or as an associate who supports our work. The future will be what all of us together make it.

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LIFE IN THE U.S.

RELIGION

Women as priests threaten to cause Episcopal schism

By Sheila K. Johnson
Pacific News Service

The new wave of rejection of church authority—from both reformists and the traditional-minded—that has surged through Christianity in recent years has now reached the staid ranks of the Episcopal church.

The extent of the Anglican breach will be determined in St. Louis in mid-September when three major groups of conservative Episcopalians meet to plumb the depths of their discontent over the church's decision to ordain women priests and the revision of the Book of Common Prayer.

While they are united in outrage, the rebels remain divided on what must be done to return the church to what they believe is the true faith.

For the most belligerent group, led by the Rev. Canon Albert DuBois of Lexington, Ky., and the Rev. Robert Morse of Oakland, Ca., the die has been cast: schism. They have already cut themselves off from church authority and are coming to the Sept. 14-16 convention to persuade other dissidents to join them.

Father Morse only half-jokingly suggests that the name for their new church should be "Honest to God Episcopalians."

"Ultimately, we expect about a third of the present church (2.9 million members) to be in our camp," Morse confidently predicts.

Peter Laukhuff, chairman of the Fellowship of Concerned Churchmen, which is sponsoring the St. Louis meeting, agrees with the DuBois and Morse objectives but admits a "difference in tactics." The Laukhuff group, a coalition of 16 conservative publications and organizations in the U.S. and Canada, believes the anti-women ordination forces need a "shakedown period" before deciding what to do. But even Laukhuff concedes that eventually "that's probably going to mean some kind of new church structure."

Rejecting schism—for now—a third group incorporating 14 of the 61 bishops who voted against ordaining women priests at the Episcopal church's general convention in Minneapolis last September is drumming up popular support to reverse the church's decision at the 1979 general meeting.

But the rebellion's momentum is clearly with the secessionist group, with kindred spirits in other denominations. Schism, for example, has already torn the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod this year.

Return to days before priests.

Thomas Baines, a professor of English history and law at the University of California-Berkeley and the only layman scheduled to make a keynote address at the St. Louis meeting, accuses the Episcopal church of wanting "to do away with the apostolic responsibility of the episcopacy," namely, the obligation entrusted to the church by the apostles of preserving the original faith and values of Christianity.

The professor sees the current policies of the Episcopal church as one of Christianity's recurring "urges toward primitivism." The church, Barnes says,

The national church has a weapon of its own, however, in the form of church property. The Bishop of Los Angeles is currently suing four dissident parishes in his diocese in order to oust them from their premises. But it is not likely that the Episcopal squabble will be solved by financial considerations. Theology will be much more important.

like the Protestant reformers of the 16th Century, wants "to go back to the time of Christ, before there was a church, bishops, priests, etc. and there were merely followers of Christ, including, of course, women such as the mother of Jesus and Mary Magdalene. In that case, one could say, 'Why not have women as priests?'"

Barnes is not opposed to ordaining female ministers in other churches. "Protestant groups without our heritage—Methodists and Congregationalists, for example—have had no trouble admitting women to the ministry. And the Catholics will probably do so one of these days and get it to stick because they have a powerful authority structure."

"To be sure, the Episcopal church grew out of Henry VIII's split with Rome, but it was very careful to preserve its [male] priesthood and liturgy. This is why people like Morse and myself maintain that to admit women to the priesthood and to alter the Book of Common Prayer is in effect to destroy the church," he says.

With some two dozen other Episcopal congregations of the 7,000 in the U.S., Morse's St. Peter parish voted itself "out of communion" with the rest of the church earlier this year.

In response Episcopal Bishop of California C. Kilmer Myers prohibited Morse from performing any priestly functions—a move that has neither stopped Morse from officiating at services nor communicants from attending. In fact, some now attending St. Peter's come from as far as 60 miles away and are former members of Episcopal parishes that accepted the church's three-to-two majority approval of female ordination and the revised prayer book.



Jane Melnick

Serious split.

Bishop Myers and others dismiss Morse's claim of popular support for the dissident movement, but Episcopal leaders do not deny the seriousness of the split. It is also reverberating throughout the Anglican world. The Episcopal church of Canada and the Church of England Synod are debating whether to ordain women priests. If they do, they are likely to face the same dissension as the American church.

The split in the U.S. church will also be costly in monetary terms. Some dissident churches are already withholding their annual assessment to the diocese. "There is no doubt," says the Rev. George Hunt, executive officer of the California diocese, "that it will force severe cutbacks in the national church's activities."

The national church has a weapon of its own, however, in the form of church property. The Bishop of Los Angeles is currently suing four dissident parishes in his diocese in order to oust them from the premises.

But it is not likely that the Episcopal squabble will be solved by financial rather than theological considerations. The crucial issue for the secessionist forces at the St. Louis convention will be Morse's claim that "we have several bishops joining our movement."

Unlike Protestant denominations where ministers are ordained by congregations, the Episcopalians—like the Roman Catholics and Orthodox—believe priests can be validly ordained only by bishops whose unbroken chain of ordination can be traced to apostolic times.

Without bishops the new Episcopalian schism may be stillborn. But even so the Episcopal church faces stormy days

ahead on a host of other controversial issues, including homosexuality and social action.

Some Episcopalians believe that the 1979 general convention, far from reversing the decision on women priests, will approve the ordination of avowed homosexuals—male and female. (In fact, Ellen Barrett, one of the women ordained to the priesthood this spring, has jumped the gun by announcing that she is a practicing lesbian and that Bishop Paul Moore, Jr. knew this before he ordained her. Bishop Myers, however, has not allowed her to officiate in his diocese where she is a doctoral candidate at the Graduate Theological Union in Berkeley.)

Many Episcopalians are also troubled by the church's liberal social involvement. One radical wing of the church has recently published a study guide advocating socialism to replace "our corrupt capitalist, sexist, racist form of government." And the Episcopal church's National Commission on Hispanic Affairs reportedly has included several members who are currently suspected by the FBI of being Puerto Rican terrorists.

"The church," says Robert Morse, "is in the grip of a radical chic cabal, and we have to salvage what we can."

But mainstream churchmen such as California's Father George Hunt scoff at such vehemence. Hunt does not believe that the church will soon ordain homosexuals. "This has a lot to do with the fullness of time, and my study of the church and community life leads me to conclude that the church has had enough traumatic decisions for this decade," Hunt says.

Sheila K. Johnson is a Berkeley-based anthropologist and free-lance writer.

SPORTS

Arthur Ashe: tarnished knight

By Randall Kennedy

Arthur Ashe's triumph as a world class tennis player represents not only a personal conquest made of extraordinary skill, diligence and discipline, but also a victory over American racism. Rising through the tennis ranks at a time when the U.S. Lawn Tennis Association's discriminatory practices stifled the aspirations of many other black youngsters, Ashe made it in a "white man's sport"—despite the slights and slurs, the closed tournaments and the intimidating knowledge that he would have to play twice as well and behave twice as manly as his white rivals in order to reach the top.

Becoming one of the best tennis players in the world is a tribute to anyone. But becoming a world class player in the face of what Ashe had to face is almost miraculous.

Blacks have played an important role in Ashe's career, first by discovering and developing his talents and secondly by providing him with the initial moral and financial support to gain entry into the exclusive circles of the white tennis world. A large number of blacks, however, are increasingly disappointed by Ashe's apparent forgetfulness. Some remember when Druid Hill Park in Baltimore, Turkey Thicket in Washington, D.C. and a few other tennis centers on the predominantly black American Tennis Association circuit were virtually the only places where Ashe could play. They worry that Ashe now seems to prefer to socialize at the white country clubs that once excluded him.

Stands on public issues.

More important, however, than criticism of Ashe's personal life-style are criticisms of his public role as an influential black athlete speaking on urgent political and social concerns. In a recent article in *World Tennis*, "Thoughts on the Davis Cup and World Politics," for instance, Ashe appeared to express more solicitude for the traditions of Davis Cup competition than for efforts to protest South Africa's brutal racial policies.

"The intolerance of racism by many of the nations around the world and a willingness to boycott South African sports teams as a method of getting the message across," he says, pose a formidable challenge to the continuation of the Davis Cup. He reveals his loyalties by proudly proclaiming that "however long the 'Battle of South Africa' is waged, the Davis Cup will survive." The cup, says Ashe, "will forever remain an idea whose time is now."

Ashe's concept of the Davis Cup as an ideal of sportsmanship beyond politics reveals a considerable political naivete. That the organization of the Davis Cup competition has always been political is indicated by the national flags and anthems that cloak the 77-year-old event. Ashe himself has said on numerous occasions that it is the emotion evoked by the patriotism, the thrill, as he once told me, of winning a point for one's country that has made Davis Cup competition the most satisfying experience of his tennis career.

To depoliticize the Davis Cup it would be necessary to de-nationalize it and thereby render it a truly world-wide competition, run by tennis players for the glory of their sport not their nations.

Legitimizes insensitivity.

The real effect of Ashe's oblique critique of those who are willing to use disruption of the Davis Cup as a political weapon against South Africa is not so much to move athletic competition beyond politics as to justify the political insensitivity of the international tennis establishment. Ashe affirmatively quotes Joe Carrico, the U.S. Davis Cup Committee Chairman, who complains that "We just want to play tennis; we're not interested in politics." Carrico's statement, says Ashe, "is entirely in keeping



Arthur Ashe is the perfect black spokesman for those who don't want to hear anything "extreme"—articulate, relaxed and a "liberal."

Viewing the South African situation solely through the lens of his experience as a black American, Ashe preaches to his African brothers a politics of lowered expectations based on "step by step" change. It is no wonder that South Africans accuse him of being a "tool of the government."

with the sweep of Davis Cup history."

Ashe's willingness to embrace the blatantly nationalistic tradition of Davis Cup history underscores his essential conservatism. Despite his blackness, his youth, his jet-setter life-style, his professed solidarity with progressive causes and, most ironically, his own formative experience with Jim Crow discrimination, Ashe is a man in and of "the establishment." "I am black" Ashe declares in his memoir *Portrait in Motion*. "but I am a Have and . . . a capitalist."

Ashe's sentiments are of importance because they gain wide circulation and

reach important ears. Ashe's fame, derived from his athletic prowess, has allowed him to speak at the National Press Club, to appear on "Meet the Press," and to discuss the South African policies of IBM and Ford with these companies' top executives.

In his role as a "black spokesman," Ashe continues a long tradition in American life whereby the opinions of black intellectuals and academics have been largely ignored by the white media in favor of the opinions of black athletes and entertainers who speak as all-purpose spokesman for the black com-

munity. Ashe is especially attractive in this role since he is articulate, maintains an aura of relaxed self-respect, and calls himself a liberal. He is against discrimination and criticizes the South African regime—just like practically everyone else.

Safe and responsible.

But Ashe is also safe and "responsible"; he has what is euphemistically called "discretion" and "good taste." He can be counted on not to get out of line. This is why conventional opinion-makers love him so much, why he is known as "the thinking man's tennis player," why he may even receive an ambassadorship once his tennis days are over, why his pieces receive such easy access in newspapers and magazines, why he is a deserving champion in the eyes of the tennis-playing power elite.

Ashe's innocuousness is what earned him the South African government's permission to travel and to play there during the past few years. Once during the late '60s Ashe made an off-hand remark about how he would like to bomb Johannesburg. The South African government seized on this comment to justify their refusal to grant him a visa. No longer, however, does Ashe make such "irresponsible" statements. What was the first thing he said in 1973 upon arriving in the country whose social system has become synonymous with official terrorism? "I'm here in a spirit of cooperation."

Ashe saw his participation in the South African Open—he reached the finals twice, losing both times to Jimmy Connors—as a positive political gesture: "My presence signals a pause in apartheid . . . I will be a free black man on display."

But Ashe came to South Africa against the pleas of the South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee and, more importantly, against the intense opposition of many black South African students and intellectuals. As Ashe himself admitted, "Many blacks do not want me here [in South Africa] . . . they feel my being here legitimates the government and lends it some credence."

Ashe's response to his critics, to those who demand unequivocal opposition to South Africa and who demand significant social change now is much like that of his good friend Andrew Young. Viewing the South African situation solely through the lens of his experience as a black American, Ashe preaches to his African brothers a politics of lowered expectations based on "step by step" change. This moderation led him to observe that, "I cannot change the law [apartheid]. What we can do is try to dilute it so that nobody bothers to enforce it any more."

No wonder representatives of the South African Student Organization and the Black Peoples Convention told Ashe bluntly: "You're a tool of the government."

Perhaps the most telling indictment against Ashe's well-intentioned, but poorly-conceived, ventures into political commentary lies in his suggestion as to whom American blacks should seek to emulate. In the course of one of his many criticisms of young black militants in *Portrait in Motion*, Ashe lauds none other than Henry Kissinger, a man who has worked tirelessly to stem the tide of social change internationally, as a model worth imitating. Declares Ashe: "I wish more people—blacks especially—would study his [Kissinger's] philosophy."

To hear Arthur Ashe utter such ill-informed and naive comments is painful for those who have long observed and supported him. Not only does he appear to lack soul; he seems to lack good sense as well.

Randall Kennedy is on his way to England as a Rhodes scholar and is a former tournament tennis player.

ART «» ENTERTAINMENT

FILM



Peckinpah directing a couple of actors

Film blows up ballad

"Convoy," C.W. McCall's smash CB record about a smokie-bedamned truckers' convoy hurtling across America, is being made into a major movie scheduled for release by next Christmas.

And look who's directing it: Sam Peckinpah, the good ole bad boy from the California Sierras who brought us *Straw Dogs* and *The Wild Bunch*. Peckinpah insists that bone-hacking violence is as American as apple pie and vanilla ice cream. I'm afraid I got my worries about *Convoy* going already.

The song (if you've forgotten the lyrics to last year's biggest-selling single), chronicles the road odyssey of Rubber Duck and Pig-Pen, two CB-toting trucker/cowboys, as they drive from Shakey Town (Los Angeles) to New York City. They form a CB convoy, or traveling screen. Pig-pen keeps

getting sent to the rear since he is hauling an "in-tense" cargo of foul-smelling hogs.

A thousand trucks strong, nothing can stop the convoy, neither "bears in the air" (police helicopters) nor the Illinois National Guard. By the time the truckers hit the George Washington Bridge in New York, they decide they're in no mood to pay the toll. They "crash the gate doin' ninety-eight!"

"Convoy" is martial music all right, but in the hands of McCall it's all just good clean fun.

Producer Bob Sherman, whose last picture was *Missouri Breaks*, has a darker vision. He signed Kris Kristofferson as Rubber Duck and Bert Young as Pig-Pen, then called Peckinpah on location in Yugoslavia and asked him if he'd direct.

Sherman and Peckinpah turned

up the stereo and went to work on changes. Now Rubber Duck and Pig-Pen meet in a truck stop cafe before the trip East. Rubber Duck has just been handed a \$50 green-stamp ticket by an unpleasant smokie up the road. The self-same trooper happens to drop by the cafe for a cup of road mud and, well, the controversy over the Double Nickel speed limit being what it is, Rubber Duck decks the smokie.

"At this point," producer Sherman told me in Los Angeles, "they've got to build the convoy or go to jail. It's like a lot of Western themes: a fellow doesn't start out doing wrong, it just works out that way."

Naturally, a female lead has been inserted to play opposite Kristofferson. What will she do? Sherman won't say now, but I doubt she'll be driving her own truck.

As for other changes, I guess there'll be plenty of room for violent Americana from Peckinpah's past obsessions. Killer ants devouring scorpions, perhaps, as in *The Wild Bunch*. Or maybe double-rape and a fire-poker murder as in *Straw Dogs*.

Does ole C.W. have any CB trepidation about tossing "Convoy" to these wolves of the Western myth?

"I'm delighted!" laughed McCall from Omaha. "*Convoy* is going to be a bigger-than-life picture with hundreds of trucks, army tanks, and everything else. It needs an epic director and Sam Peckinpah couldn't be better!"

McCall may be right. It was his song that turned CB from the truckers' toy to the communication plaything of the masses.

So it wouldn't surprise me if Peckinpah's *Convoy* will mean the Second Coming for CB. Then there'll be so many Two-Ways the phone company will give up and go home, and every American with a mouth and ears will turn off her TV to modulate.

—Steve Chapple

Steve Chapple is the author of the soon to be published *Rock 'n' Roll is Here to Pay*.

—Christian Eaby

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Rural artist goes to work in foundry

It must have been with some sense of bravura that artist Bryan Shapiro approached the owners of a foundry in Richland Center, (in southwestern Wisconsin, and asked permission to paint there.

The owners weren't particularly pleased or flattered, but they gave permission on condition that he stayed out of the way and wore eye protectors. Shapiro set up his easel in odd corners where he could get a view of the machines as well as the men. After a few sketches in water-color, he switched to a dark conte chalk, which gives more of a feeling of the dust, grime and stink of such an establishment.

The drawings that came out of this experience have been on exhibit this summer at the Warehouse Museum in Richland Center, and foundry workers who do not usually attend art shows were present in impressive numbers. At the opening, I heard one man explaining delightedly to all the other viewers exactly what he was doing in the drawing of him at his machine. A new concept—that factories and workers can be transformed into art as well as green, rolling hills—has been injected into the cultural life of this rural area in the Midwest.

Work as it really is.

There are 21 drawings in the show, dramatic in composition, unromantic in representation. Shapiro depicts the different operations and conveys the atmosphere in which the work is done.

Molds for the liquid metals are made out of "green sand" (which is actually dark gray in color). It is moved by conveyor belt above the working area, so frequently spilling on to the floor below that everything in the foundry is covered with it. The noise is loud and continuous, requiring a man to shout to be heard by someone working a few yards away.

The molds are rolled on tracks to the "pouring deck," where two men working the furnace pour the liquid metal into 10 gallon drums. The drums are moved on wires, suspended from overhead tracks. While Shapiro was drawing, he saw one of the larger drums—about 50 gallons—spill out over the deck like lava from a volcano. Ten workers on the deck scrambled and got out of the way. But injuries are reported on the average every third day—one in every three workers.

Personal reasons.

There has been comparatively little interest in work and workers as subject for U.S. artists, even on the left. In socialist countries art glorifies workers in ways few Americans can accept. Shapiro's approach is entirely different. In his work—as in the foundry—the machines dominate. The men are not personalized; they seldom look up. I found my eyes tracing the designs made by the tracks and equipment and only later being drawn to the small, strong figures of the men.

Shapiro seems to have been drawn to this treatment by his own personal necessities as well as by the lasting bond between

There is a lasting bond between artist and laborer. Both work with their hands. Both must understand the nature of the material. For the artist it is both means to creation and limitation upon it. No degree of talent can elevate him above the labor it takes to produce his art.

artist and laborer. Both work with their hands—in clay or green sand, in molten metal or paint, in bronze or plastic. Both must understand the nature and demands of the material. For the artist it is both means to creation and limitation upon it. And he knows that no degree of talent can elevate him above the physical labor it takes to produce his art.

Shapiro is also interested in the relationship between art and politics. He says that he has ongoing discussions with friends on the subject. And he tells a significant anecdote about his relationship to his father:

"A few years ago I visited my father where he worked. It was in a print shop that I had never been to although he had worked there for at least 15 years. I think he had subtly discouraged me from going there. I was, of course, expected to 'do better' in my career choice.

"At the shop I was greeted somewhat as a curiosity by his boss. It was unusual for a worker to bring in someone from his family. My father showed me some of the presses, and I left shortly thereafter. He wasn't being paid to be a tour director and was quite uneasy. But that was his work every day, and it kept nudging at my mind."

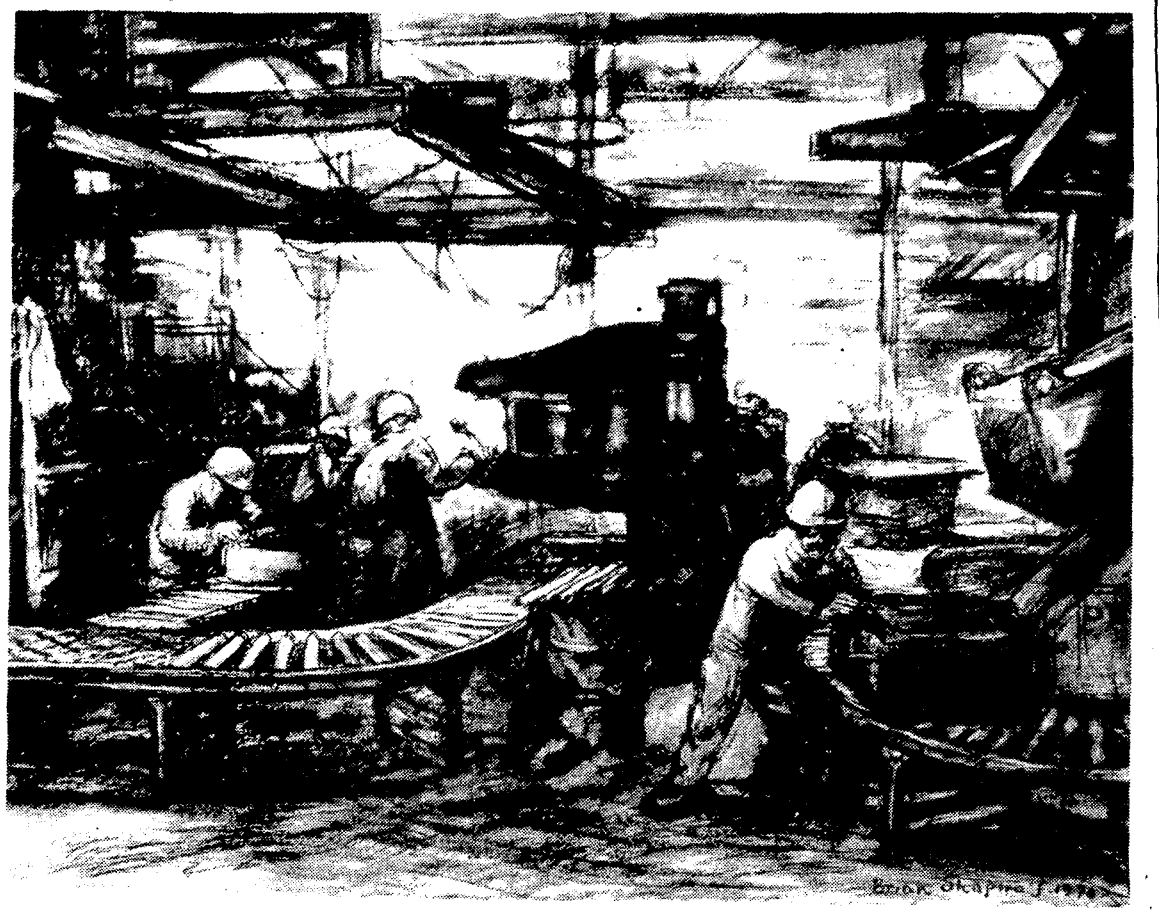
On whose walls?

So far the foundry has not expressed interest in purchasing any of the drawings. Gallery owners in the area, who have eagerly hung Shapiro's sepia portraits and oil landscapes in the past, are not volunteering to hang this series. "Nobody wants one of those on his living room wall." The workers in the foundry would be glad to hang one if it were affordable in their terms.

The show is going to be on exhibit at the Madison Art Center in October and November, and there are plans to take it to Chicago and to Minneapolis later this year and early next.

—Emily Osborn

Emily Osborn is the editor/publisher of the *Ocooch Mountain News*, in Gillingham, Wis.



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BOOKS

The morality of transplants and the biology of selfishness

COMA

By Robin Cook

Little, Brown, Boston, 1977, \$8.95

Set in an environment that Dr. Cook clearly knows well—a prestigious, thinly fictionalized Boston teaching hospital—*Coma* probes two topical but essentially unrelated issues—organ transplantation and women in medicine. Patients at “The Memorial” admitted for minimal surgery and minor medical work-ups suddenly and inexplicably become comatose, suffering irreversible brain damage. The problem is hushed up by a hostile (complicitous?) hospital hierarchy and it takes a gutsy, headstrong, third-year medical student to diagnose the coma epidemic and pursue its cause.

Enter the women in medicine theme. Our medical student/Kojak/Lone Ranger turns out to be Susan Wheeler, a comely, brainy Radcliffe graduate. She battles the special problems of women in medicine—omnipresent sexism, careerist demands versus feminine sensitivities, repeated sexual overtures, etc. The situations are a bit contrived, but the problems are real enough.

Young Dr. Wheeler becomes less believable, however, when she tackles the coma nemesis. In the space of three days she exposes the intrigue, gets thrown out of the hospital, takes on a hit man hired to snuff her (and wins) and winds up a prisoner in a fortress trafficking in black market human organs—something of a Double-O-Seven in a white coat.

The story reads well enough on a James Bondian level. It will make a successful movie, I am sure. But Dr. Cook intends *Coma* to address a more serious issue—he says as much in an author's note at the end of the tale. Black market organs for transplantation are a real threat, he claims. He counsels more enlightened and more thoughtful transplantation policies.

Well, I'm not sure. The lure of organ transplantation—immortality through salvaged or synthetic parts—holds an obvious fascination for human beings. If only we could obtain replacement for every aged or diseased tissue, we could go on forever, like so many antique Volkswagens; the generation of 1977 chugging into eternity, no need for estate planning, funeral homes or children. The De-Bakey/Bernard heart transplant craze of several years ago was testimony to what organ-swapping does for the contemporary imagination.

But are organ transplants philosophically, technically or financially viable alternatives to aging and death? I think not. In a medical and political system already spending almost ten percent of its Gross National Product on “health,” it seems unlikely and unfeasible that we will be able to invest tens of thousands of dollars per person to replace the inevitably diseased organs that we all will suffer. Even if we undertook some part of that commitment, it would be a highly questionable invest-

ment of our medical resources in view of what might be done with those same dollars for the overall quality of life.

That seems to me closer to the crucial philosophical and moral issues surrounding transplantation. How are we as a society going to use advances in technology to promote a democratic improvement in well-being opposed to elitist or irrelevant medical Edsels? The plotline of a novel dramatizing this dilemma might well prove more complex and less entertaining than *Coma*, but the ethics of technology and not organ cops-and-robbers is the real question we face. Dr. Cook has given us a good tale but it is not a great deal more than that.

—Fitzhugh Mullan

Fitzhugh Mullan is a public health physician and author of White Coat, Clenched Fist, cf In These Times, Dec. 20, 1976.

THE SELFISH GENE

By Richard Dawkins

Oxford University Press, 1976, \$8.95

This is a book that should be read by all who have a concern for the continuance of civilization and the amelioration of ills that beset modern life. The author undertakes to “examine the biology of selfishness and altruism.” He does not give us all the answers we need, but his book does lay a more factual basis for the building of a moral society than the speculations and dogmas of popular (and unpopular) writers of the last 2000 years.

Dawkins says: “Let us understand what our genes are up to because we may then at least have the chance to upset their designs, something that no other species has ever aspired to.” Most others who have written on the biology of social relations, according to Dawkins, have “got it totally and utterly wrong,” because they have relied on selection “for the good of the group”—something modern population genetics theory rejects.

Basing his argument on the ex-

If we could obtain replacements for every aged or diseased tissue, we could go on forever like so many antique Volkswagens—the generation of 1977 chugging into eternity, no need for estate planning, funeral homes or children

Author-doctor Robin Cook

istence of genes made of DNA, Dawkins erects a novel viewpoint on Darwinian selection: that the good of the individual is as mythical a concept as the “good of the group,” and that the true unit of selection is simply the gene.

The genes build a “survival machine”—the individual—and program it by natural selection to make a maximum number of copies of themselves. From this premise, adequately explained on a bio-historical basis, Dawkins proceeds to show “how individual selfishness and individual altruism are [both] explained by... gene selfishness.”

What makes this book so important for social theory is the idea that selection for the good of the group cannot (at least in wild nature) succeed. If there is just one selfish rebel, prepared to exploit the altruism of the rest, then he, by definition, is more likely than they to survive and have children. Each of these children will tend to inherit his selfish traits. After several generations of this natural selection, the ‘altruistic’ group will be overrun by selfish individuals, and will be in-



Bruno D'Agostino

distinguishable from a selfish group.”

The detailed mathematical theory that underlies this assertion is not included in the book. But enough detail written in plain English is provided to cover such subjects as “Aggression,” “Family Planning,” “Battle of the Sexes,” “Lying and Cheating, etc. It is important to recognize in this regard that while some of Dawkins' ideas are new and speculative, he has the support of leaders in modern population biology.

My only objection is that Dawkins shows that some groups are inexorably driven to extinction by individual selection over the short term, but does not mention that the extinction of such a group leaves a gap in the environment that may be filled by another group, not so “badly” organized.

The final chapter is the most provocative. In it, Dawkins suggests that ideas originate, replicate, spread and die according to the same mathematical patterns as genes. He proposes, by analogy, the term “meme” for a unit idea. “Examples of memes are tunes, ideas, catch-phrases,

clothes fashions, ways of making pots or of building arches.” The dynamic of this process is still natural selection. Mathematically it is not important what about the idea of God is psychologically attractive, only that it is and so has a “stability and penetrance in the cultural environment.”

Just as gene evolution depends on the chemical mechanisms of replication in DNA and its “survival machine,” so the evolution of memes depends on the prior intention and (genetic) maintenance of the human brain, however poorly we understand the latter. The theme of this chapter is not completely developed, but among other things, it indicates that just because an idea is true (or false), it will not necessarily survive (or die). It has an existence of its own, competing with other ideas for space in the brains of men and women.

It will be interesting to watch how the meme of *The Selfish Gene* fares.

—John H. McClendon

John H. McClendon is a professor of botany at the University of Nebraska.

Recent history of resistance to racism

A LIFE FOR AFRICA: The Story of Bram Fischer

By Naomi Mitchison

Merlin Press, London, 1973, paperback \$2

Background material on Winnie and Nelson Mandela (cf *In These Times*, Sept. 7), as well as the current crisis in South Africa is now available to U.S. readers in *A Life for Africa, The Story of Bram Fischer*—thanks to Carrier Pigeon, Inc., which has undertaken the U.S. distribution of a number of hard-to-get foreign paperbacks.

Bram Fischer was a third-generation member of one of the elite Afrikaner families educated at Grey College and Oxford, a leading member of the South African bar, and in his later years a member of the Communist party. Fischer acted as defense

counsel for the men arrested at Rivonia (1963) and was eventually arrested, charged and convicted under the same statutes.

He had refused to leave his native land in the face of inevitable prosecution, identifying himself completely with the embattled leadership of the African liberation movement. Fischer died in prison in 1974.

Naomi Mitchison, a distinguished historical novelist, and a daughter of the distinguished Marxist biologist, J.B.S. Haldane, has written a short political biography of Bram Fischer that is probably the quickest way to understanding the context of the present conflict, although it is out of date in some details. (It was published in 1973, before Fischer's death.)

—J.S.

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Winnie Mandela

IDAF

Lions and Lambs



At the heart of the New Left movement of the '60s was Students for a Democratic Society, SDS. Beginning as the Student League for Industrial Democracy, affiliated with the still-existing League for Industrial Democracy, SDS soon asserted its independence and grew from a mere handful of members to a mass organization able to galvanize and influence hundreds of thousands of young people across the country.

Then, in the summer of 1969, in a fury of violence and self-destructiveness, SDS split into a multitude of warring factions. There was the Progressive Labor Party, then Maoist, but now critical of China; an independent socialist grouping of small size and poor organization; a grouping whose leaders are now the mainstays of assorted new "Marxist-Leninist" parties, such as the Communist Party, Marxist-Leninist (formerly the October League) and the Revolutionary Communist Party (formerly the Revolutionary Union); and, of course, the Weathermen, now the Weather Underground.

The Weatherman group came away with control of the national office and leadership. But they quickly decided on a course of political terrorism. Closing down the national SDS office, the Weather faction became a clandestine, "underground" group, hiding from the police and FBI.

SDS was dead for all practical purpose by the Spring of 1970.

The third week of August witnessed a reunion of about 100 veterans of SDS at

a summer camp in southeastern Michigan. In a remarkable atmosphere that was—believe it or not—one of love and trust, they analyzed their experience and, at the least, came to terms with some of the personal scars left from the battles of the '60s.

The people who came to the Michigan meeting were drawn from the cadre and top leadership of SDS between 1960 and 1968. The marks of the factional wars that plagued the organization were on all of them. Some participants confided that they had spent weeks of apprehension as to whether they would, once again, find themselves under attack for this or that ideological sin. Especially worrisome, at least to many of the men, was the anticipation of a bitter retrospect on the issue of sexism. (The reader may not recall that feminists were jeered at the Counter-Inaugural Demonstration in January 1969, and that the last SDS convention was marred by a Black Panther announcing that the contribution of females to the movement was to "get laid.")

The lion and the lamb.

The women on the organizing committee for the SDS reunion had among them those who had been early victims of sexism. They were determined that the past should not repeat itself. Indeed, they hoped it could somehow be repealed. This having been made clear, many of the men who came did so in anticipation that they would be worked over for prior or contemporary errors of disrespect, stereotyping and sexism.

Impossible, crazy, and unrealistic as it may sound, it worked out alright. As the meeting closed a number of feminists, active as journalists, organizers, therapists, spoke to the effect that they had been pleased, even excited by the atmosphere of respect and cooperation that characterized the meeting. One person said it made her rethink her rejection of politics with male leftists.

At the same time, former male leaders, some of whom came ready to leave in the wave of an elitism charge, found support from old comrades and appreciation of their past and present work. I found myself, for example, with Carl Oglesby, with whom I had not had a good word in 10 years, and with whom I spent two hours of reconciliation: the lion has lain down with the lamb, I said, and it doesn't matter who is whom.

The Michigan meeting did not create an organization, nor a consensus program, nor did it delve very deeply into the kinds of "political" questions that are indeed needed as a base of action in this period. It was not intended as that kind of gathering. But it reflected something that may be equally as important: an atmosphere of trust and fraternal discussion without which organization is not possible. If we can understand that process, we'll have understood something the left needs.

The organizers—a group of men and women living in the San Francisco area—had enough experience to design a conference that created a supportive atmosphere. It began with people telling their stories: what they'd done in the

movement, where they'd been since the "Bad Times" of the early '70s, what they were doing now. In my workshop we got to talking of our hurts: the events, persons, trends that we still grieved or felt unjustly wronged about. We spoke of the pain involved in meeting personal needs within a political movement.

At supper that evening someone told me that just "saying it" to the very people for whom one had been rehearsing for years, had helped. What was so hurtful? Being booed by leftists during a feminist rally; being called a "liberal" (when that had meant "sell-out"); being called an elitist by rich kids when one had come from a working class home.

Consensus and division.

By the end of the day it was clear that the meeting could go on: that cannibalism could be postponed for a while anyhow.

Then came a great and weird moment. A workshop was called on the gay movement; it got going with difficulty. Eventually it was brought into the main meeting hall, and almost everyone was present. The gay brothers spoke their hurts; the straight brothers and sisters fumbled, listened, were rebuked, fumbled again.

Then, gradually, the experience of the conference became a force in the discussion. We all had been hurt by our movement; gay, feminist, working class—the guilt of the middle strata folk, a weight on them too. Tears, for the first time,

Continued on page 18

In 1969 Students for a Democratic Society disintegrated into a multitude of warring factions. Eight years later a group of SDS veterans gathered to heal the wounds of the past and to seek a new understanding of their history.